MISCELANEA
OR A

FOUREFOLD VVAY TO A HAPPIE LIFE.

Set forth in a Dialogue,

Betweene { *A Countryman,* / *A Citizen,* / *A Divine,* and / *A Lawyer.*

By *T. N.* of the Inner Temple.

Innocuos permitte ſales, cur ludere nobis
Non liceat? —— *Mart. lib. 3. Epig. 98.*

LONDON,
Printed by *Iohn Dawſon,* and are to bee ſold by *Thomas Slater,* at the *White Swanne* in *Duck-lane.* 1639.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE MY VERY GOOD LORD, THOMAS, LORD COVENTREE, BARON OF AYLSBOROVGH, LORD KEEPER OF THE Great Seale of ENGLAND, and one of his MAIESTIES *moſt honorable privy Councell.*

AFter that I had duely weighed, and conſidered the different natures and conditions of men, and ſaw every one walking a ſeverall way, delighting himſelfe in (a) *a ſeverall thing*, according to his phantaſie and inclination; one in one

(a) Velle ſuum eſt, cuiq; nec voto vivitur vno. *Perſ. Sa. 5.*

thing, another in another; the *Grammarian* in his *Etymologies*, the *Poet* in his *Poëtrie*, the *Rhetoritian* in his *Elocution*, the *Sophister* in his *Aequivocations*, the *Logitian* in his *syllogistical Demonstrations*, the *Musitian* in the *varietie of his notes*, the *Geometritian* in his *Triangles and Quadrangles*, the *Architect* in his *Labyrinthes*, the (b) *Apothecary* in his *Drugges*, the *Anatomist* in his *Dissecations*, the *fooliſh Oneiropolus* in his *Expoſition of Dreames*, the *Cynicke* in his *privacie*, the (c) *Epicure* in his *taſte*, the *Stoicke* in his *dulneſſe*, the *Huntſman* in his *dog*, the (d) *Faulkner* in his *Hawke*, the *Artificer* in his *toole*: how ſome are taken with *Antiquities*, ſome with *Novelties*, ſome with *Tragedies*, others with *Comedies*, ſome with *invective Satyres*, others with *ſmooth Encomiums*; and how generally the moſt are *Cenſorious*, and are ever pulling the *Scribe* by the (e) *haire*, *Cum*

(b) Mercibus hic *Italis*, mutat ſub ſole recenti
Rugoſum piper, & pallentis grana Cumini.

(c) Hic ſatur, irriguo mavult turgeſcere ſomno.

(d) Hic Campo indulget; hunc alea decoquit; ille
In venerem eſt putris.
Perſ: ibid.

(e) Quoties dicimus, totiès de nobis iudicatur; nec quicquâ eſt tam inſigne, nec tam ad diuturnitatem memoriæ habile, quàm id quo deliqueris: adeſt enim ferè nemo, qui non acutiùs atq; acriùs vitia in dicente, quàm recta videat. *Cicero.*

Cùm ipsi quidem ne pilum habent, nec ingenij nec judicij. These things, I say, after that I had duly weighed, & withall considered, how difficult a thing it is for the most curious *Cooke* and *Cater*, to please the severall palates of so (f) *disagreeing a multitude*; I began to withdraw my pen from my paper, and in the midst of my journey *Palinodiam canere*; but when I called to minde what I learnt in my minoritie (g) *quòd regium est audire malè, cùm facias benè*; and how *Neptune*, *Vulcan*, and *Minerva*, together with the most noble Princes, Peeres, and Potentates, haue not beene free from the censure of (h) *Momus*, and the iniurious calumnies of ignominious persons, I went on with a greater alacritie, & thought it no disparagement to beare my part with such good Company in such a Consort. The calumnies of *Momus* are as the prayses of *Mecænas*: (i) *Antisthenes*

(f) Tres mihi Convivæ propè dissentire videntur, Poscentes vario multùm diversa palato.
Horat. lib. 2. Epist.

(g) Simul ista mundi Conditor posuit Deus, Odium atq; regnum.
Senec. in Theb.

(h) Fabulati sunt de Momo, quòd cùm Iudex inter *Neptunum*, *Vulcanum* et *Minervam* electus erat, eos omnes reprehendebat; nam cùm *Neptunus Taurum*, *Vulcanus* hominem, *Minerva* domum effinxisset; *Neptunum* reprehendebat, quòd cornua in capite, & non antè oculos vel in humeris posuit; *Vulcanum*, quia non fenestratum pectus hominis fecit, vt sciri possit, quot doli essent in pectore: *Minervam*, quia domus non esset trusatilis quæ potest facilè circumagi, si aliquid mali acciderit.

(i) *Diog. Laert.* in *Antisthe.*

tiſthenes did never more ſuſpect himſelfe, than when he had an ignominious man applaud him, then, then did he vſe to enquire what evill he had committed. *Simile gaudet ſuo ſimili*: every thing delighteth it ſelfe in that, with which it hath a ſympathie in qualitie and condition. *Sues margaritam non curant, gallus* Aeſopi *eſcam magis quàm hyacinthum invenire deſiderat; ſpernit bos muſcas:* it is the nature of ſwine to wallow in the mire, of Cocks to preferre a graine of Corne before the richeſt Diademe, of Oxen and Aſſes to hate the *Muſes*. (k) *Caligula hated Virgil and Livie*, and would haue baniſht them out of all Libraries, but he had his reward for it, he dyed like a (l) *beaſt*, & had not ſo much as a pen to remember him, but with deteſtation and hatred. (m) *Alexander loved Homer, Archilaus Euripides, Africanus Ennius, Lyſander Sophocles*, and they loſt

(k) *Sueton. in Caligula.*

(l) Quicquos potiùs & canes alere malunt quàm eruditos, talis erit eorum oblivius, qualis equorum et canum. Nec poſt mortem maius eſt ipſorum nomē, quàm vrſi et Leonis.
Æneas Silv. Epiſt. 117.

(m) De amore *Alexandri* erga *Homerum*, de *Archilao* in *Euripidem*, de *Africano* in *Ennium*, de *Lyſandro* in *Sophoclem*. Vid. ibid.

loſt nothing by it, their noble acts and atchievements haue bin well ſet forth, with deſerved *Encomiums* to all ſucceeding ages. Let the dogs barke then, I know it is the nature of them ſo to doe, and they cannot live but they muſt doe it; let the Aſſes kicke, it is hereditary to them.

Invideat Satanas, et Zoïlus ilia rumpat.

Let the envious man ſplit himſelfe with Calumnies; it is as naturall to him as for the *Salamander* to liue in the fire, or the *Camelion* by the ayre. I (n) *envie him not*, but pittie him, and wiſh him not to hurt himſelfe, but to remember what befell to *Phœbus* his Crow; let me haue the loue of *Mecænas* onely, which I ſhall eſteeme like vnto *Ajax* his Buckler & *Achilles* his Speare, to defend me againſt the *Caligulaes* of our time, and the *hydra*-like mul-

(n) Moverer, ſi de me *Marcus Cato*, ſi *Lælius* ſapiens, ſi alter *Cato*, ſi duo *Scipiones* malè loquerentur: ſed malis diſplicere, laudari eſt, non poteſt enim authoritatẽ habere ſententia, vbi qui damnandus eſt damnat: *Seneca*. Vnde Poëta;
Contemni à ſtulto dedecus eſſe nego.

multitude. Vnto you therefore (right Honorable) (seeing that I find it hath beene a Custome of olde to dedicate Churches to God, and Bookes vnto good men) as vnto a true (o) *Mecænas* doe I present these my *Miscellanea*. The malefactor betakes himselfe to the Sanctuarie for refuge, because he hath offended; the (p) *oppressor* shrowds himselfe vnder the wings of Greatnes, that he may the more freely exercise his crueltie: Innocencie onely seekes refuge, that shee may be free from oppression. The hearbes haue no greater enemies than the weeds, nor Art than ignorance, which is ever fraught with malice and detraction. Against these enemies onely these intellectuall fruits desire shelter; whilest the Shepheard is at hand, the sheepe are in safetie; whilest the Chickens are vner the wing, the Vulture will not proffer to make a stoope; but when

(o) *Mecænas* fuit inter doctos nobilissimus, inter nobilissimos doctissimus, inter vtrósq; optimus.

(p) Colit hic reges, calcet vt omnes;
Tantùm vt noceat cupit esse potens.
Senec. in Hercule Oetæo.

when the Shepheard is careleſſe, and the Henne leaves her Chickens, then doe the Wolues and Vultures tyrannize, and ſport themſelues in the ruines of thoſe harmeleſſe Creatures.

Theſe fruits of mine would wander in the world, as ſheepe without a Shepheard, ſubject to the (q) *blaſting* of every carping *Zoilus* and *Momus*, did not ſome vigilant eye watch and defend them. Wherefore I haue Commended them to your *Lordſhips* ſafe protection, and tuition. I muſt ingenuouſly confeſſe, when I had fully finiſhed this Diſcourſe; and weighed it in the ballance of judgement, and found it a little too light, I felt ſome reluctation in my ſelfe, whether I ſhould preſent ſo worthy a Peere with ſo vnworthy a preſent; but when I conſidered; *In minutiſſimis gemmis nonnunquam eſſe maximum*

(q) Vide Concionem leporinam in apologo, quo oſtenditur, fortem orationem, niſi viribus ſit ſuffulta, à potentioribus derideri.

pretium, that with noble mindes ſmall things are highly valued and eſteemed; and how I had often found, *In maximis perſonis melitam quandam morum ſuavitatem, ſumma cum dignitate copulatam elucere*; I reſolved to runne the adventure of it. Receiue it then (Right Honorable) with the ſame hand with the which it is delivered, and accept of it as a ſmall pledge of his ſervice, who may perhaps ſometimes preſent your *Lor*ᵖ: with ſome (r) *ſharpe and ſoure things*, but never with malicious venemous things; So ſhall you more and more oblige him that preſumes to offer this toy and trifle vnto you, that if any more ſerious thing happen in future times to come within his thoughts, to make your *Lor*ᵖ. partaker of it, and at all times to deſire vnto your *Lor*ᵖ: health and proſperitie, accumulated with yeares and honors, the proper

(r) Ni Satyram ſapiat, nil Epigramma juvat.
Owen.

Si me poſthac jugem et ſedulum lectorem vis efficere, quæſo vt Satyricè, potiùs quàm lyricè mecum agas.
Petrarch.

Qui corripit hominem, gratiã conſequitur, potiùs quàm qui blanditur linguâ.
Prov. 23.

Nihil peccat, niſi quòd nihil peccat (dixit *Plinius* de quodam Oratore ſui ſeculi) debet enim orator erigi, attolli, interdũ etiam efferveſcere, efferri, ac ſæpè accedere ad præceps.
Plinius epiſt. 26.

'Tis Iuvenal *thy iterking hand is good,*
Not gently laying on but fet-blood:
So Surgeon-like thou doeſt with launcing heale,
Where nought but launcing can the wound availe:
O ſuffer me amongſt ſo many men,
To tread aright the traces of thy pen!
Pernaſſus.

proper fruits and effects of ſo noble, juſt, and generally approved and applauded proceedings.

Vale, & Deus Optimus Maximus annos tibi longiſſimè producat, eventus omnes ſecundet, & amplioribus donis indies impleat.

Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis,
Vt poſſis facilè quemvis tolerare laborem.

Your Honors in all
dutie and ſervice.

THO: NASH.

¶ To the Reader.

The punishment of our first Father is hereditary to his posteritie, he drew trouble and travell, cares and feares vpon himselfe, and wee grone vnder the burthen of them. No man now is admitted into the world, but vpon this Condition, that in the (a) *sweat of his* browes *he shall purchase his liuelihood. Man is borne to* (b) labour, *as the sparkes flie vpwards. Wee must not thinke to goe to the* Indies, *and enjoy the fruits thereof, but we must passe through the troublesome Seas. Vertue is seated aloft, and the way vnto it is by labour and industrie.*

(a) In sudore vultus victum acquires. *Gen.* 3.
Neve shalt thou send into thy
braunchie veynes,
A bit but bought with price of
thousand paines.
Bartas.

(b) *Iob* 5.

(c) Virtutem posuere dij sudore parandam.

(c) *Hesiodus.*

It is action *which giveth a well-being to every living Creature: the little Common-wealth so long flourisheth, as every member in that little body strives to bring hony to the hiue: but when the drones begin to swarme and abound, then it goes to ruine and decay. The* Athenian *Common-wealth so long prospered as the people were in* action and imployment, *but when they brought the delights of the Court of* Darius, *and the gold of* (d) Persia *home vnto them, then they began to giue themselues over to wantonnesse, ease, and delicacie, and to decline their former prosperitie. So long as the* Assyrian *Common-wealth set forth her selfe, so long she flourished,*

(d) Aurum *Persicum* animos *Atheniensium* labefactavit, & dirâ peste infecit.
Alexand: Neap. lib. 3.
Nasica, extinctis *Carthaginiensibus*, rempub: Romanam majore in discrimine adversus *Catonem* fore contendit.

To the Reader.

But when Sardanapalus, *whom* Bocchas *will haue to be the first that induced idlenes into the world, began to invert the course of nature, to turne the dayes into nights, and the nights into dayes, and to giue himselfe over wholly to delicacie, then the Common-wealth began to decay. It is* industrie *that hath raised the most famous flourishing Common-wealths out of the dust; and idlenes which hath levelled them with the dust. Of this our forefathers were sensible, when they first instituted mechanicall Trades & Occupations, and found out the knowledge of the liberall Arts and Sciences; which had their institution to this end, to set vs in the way which our Creator had appointed vs to walke in, that is, by the way of* labour and travaile *to get our livings, to the end therefore that we may live according to our first institution, and banish* idlenes *from our habitations, which like the stupifying* (e) Oppium *buryes vs alive in the spring and flourishing time of our age. I haue invited you here to the* Country, *to the* Citie, *to* Divinitie, *and the* Law. *And haue first presented vnto you a* Countryman, *shewing vnto you the pleasures and profit of the Country, and the motives that induced him to take vpon him that course of life. Then a* Citizen, *shewing you the Commodities and delights of the Citie, and the motives that induced him to take vpon him that course of life. Then a* Divine, *shewing you the vanitie of the world, and the motives that induced him to the profession of Divinitie. Then a* Lawyer, *shewing you the excellencie of the Law, and the motives which induced him thereunto.*

(e) Otium vivi hominis sepultura. *Sen. epist.* 82.

Briefly, I haue shewed you a fourefold way *to a happie life;* (f) *sit no longer still then, gazing and looking about, but rise vp and walke, try and tread those pathes throughout, and let not the pleasures of the Countrie, nor the profit of the Citie, nor the vanitie of the world, nor any thing hinder thee vntill thou commest to thy journeys end, then pawse a while, and consider of the wayes which thou hast past, and that which thou most affectest, in after times apply thy selfe vnto; in any Case sit not still.*

(f) *Sedentaria* vita ignobilis, nam torporē segnitiémq; corporibus, æquè ac animis conciliat.

(g) Cernis

(g) Cernis vt ignavum corrumpant otia corpus;
Vt capiant vitium, ni moveantur, aquæ.

(g) *Ovid. lib. 1. de Pont.*

The standing water stinkes with putrefaction,
And vertue hath no vertue but in action.

Farewell. Yet stay a while, remember least thou chaunce to gee out of the way, that when thou commest to that rockie, thornie, craggie way which thou must passe, not to turne to thy right hand or to thy left, but to goe straight forward to a pillar which thou shalt see before thee; whereon thou shalt finde this inscription.

Dulcia non meruit, qui non gustavit amara.

It is a pillar which Hercules *set vp to direct passengers the way to vertue, and is knowne by his name; and it is the way which* Cæsar, Pompey, *and all the noble* Romanes *went. It is the way which* Littleton, Iustinian, *and all the famous* Iusticiaries *went; and it is the way which will leade thee to the end of thy journey, a happie life. Farewell once againe, commend me to our friends and familiars, the Disciples and followers of* (h) Littleton *and* Iustinian, *but more especially to the Disciples of* Littleton. *Commend me, I pray you, vnto them, and affoord me that ordinary favour which cannot well be denyed to an enemie, thy loue and good will for my labour and paines, who haue to my losse and detriment gone somewhat out of my way, to no other end and purpose, but to put thee in thy way.* Vale.

(h) Cujus *decus*, nec *viperina* multorũ *ingratitudo*, nec *occulta* malevolorum *insidia*, nec *apertæ* adversariorum *calumniæ* obscurare possint.

From the *Inner Temple*
the 14. of *May* 1632.

T. N.

Lege, Relege, Perlege.
Omnia tentato, quod bonum est teneto.
Ne minima averseris, inest sua gratia parvis.

Interlocutores.

Ruſticus.	*Agriculturâ* nihil *honeſtius.*
Vrbanus.	*Mercaturâ* nihil *vtilius.*
Theologus.	*Theologiâ* nihil *ſanctius.*
Iuriſperitus.	*Iuriſprudentiâ* nihil *honorabilius.*

ERRATA in the Booke.

FOl. 14. line 24 for *fumes* reade *fumes.* fol. 21 l 12 for *Citiu pariſh* r. *little pariſh* fol 35. for *Martin* r. *Marlin* fol 67. l. 32. for *from the line of* r. *to the line.* fol 103 for *cuſiters* r. *Curſiters*, *ibid.* for *Ruſt*, r. *Inciſp.* the laſt line but one, fol. 122. l. 1. for *lying* r. *begg ng*, and for *lyſe* r. *beg.* fol. 230 for *Adelſtace* r. *Adelſtane.* l. 15. fol. 240. for *Hen. the 4tht Edw. the 4th.*

ERRATA in the Margine.

In the Epiſtle for *velle ſuum eſt, cuiq;* r. *velle ſuum cuiq; eſt*, for *had* r. *heard.* fol. 9 for *nupta* r. *innupta*, and for *innupta* r. *nuptæ.* fol. 30. for *Olympia* r. *Olympiaca.* fol. 32 for *Hibernus* r. *cum Hibernus*, fol. 55. for *mutatur* r *mutantur*, fol. 59. for *prater* r. *propter.* pag. 88. for *lanam* r. *lenam*, p. 106. for *oſtendere* r *aſcendere*, fol. 134. for *de Temps* r *de tempore*, fol. 132. for *neſcit* r. *noſcit*, fol. 162. for *ſenem revidi* r *ſenem ſanum revidi*, and for *adiicaſſet* r. *abdicaſſet*, fol. 169 for *ſuperbia* r *ſuperbiam*, fol. 244. for *argentum* r. *hominem*, p. 274. for *proiiceret* r. *prohiberet*, p. 278. for *quoq;* r. *quaſi.*

These faults haue I eſpied, peradventure ſome others haue eſcaped me, (Bernardus enim non vidit omne) *which whoſoever ſhall finde, if he will in a friendly manner make them knowne vnto me, I will thanke him, and if ever it be my fortune to meete him at the Preſſe, I will endevour to requite him.*

A

A DISCOVRSE BETWEENE A *COUNTRY-MAN* And a *CITIZEN*: a *Divine* and a *Lawyer*.

VVherein the Commodities of the *Country* and the *Citie*; together with the excellency of *Divinitie*, and the *Law* are set forth.

THese foure meeting accidentally together, having heretofore beene *Schollers* together in a *Grammar-Schoole*, and bred vp vnder one *Common Schoolemaster*, after some kinde Salutations on each part had, it was desired that some place might be appointed where they might renew their old acquaintance: vnto which all of them most willingly condescended, and accordingly met together, where after repetition of many wittie pranks and sleights committed during

the time whileſt each of them was vnder the rod, they fell at laſt to a more ſerious Diſcourſe, each of other demanding ſeverally, what motiues might induce them to betake themſelues vnto thoſe ſeverall courſes of life. The firſt Conference being betweene the *Citizen* and the *Countryman*: the *Citizen* beginning as followeth.

Vrban. Indeede Sir, I muſt acknowledge that vpon the firſt view of you, ſeeing you in your Countrey-habit, I did much vnder-value you (for which I craue pardon) fearing that ſome miſfortunes had befallen you, and ſo poverty had driven you into that meane habite, and attire, but when I vnderſtood after ſome conference had with you, what courſe of life you tooke vpon you, and that your habite did ſuite with your *Country* and condition, being much different from our *City*-faſhions, I then wiſht to my ſelfe to haue had ſome opportunity, having knowne you from your Cradle vntill the time that wee ſhooke hands at the Schoole-dore, and obſerved that docile and ſweete diſpoſition in you more fit for the Court and Citie, to know the motiues that induced you to apply your ſelfe wholly to the affayres of the Countrey, which at this time hating I ſhall deſire you to impart it freely vnto me.

Ruſtic. I ſhall in this your requeſt, giue you what ſatisfaction I can. The motiues that induced me to take vpon me this Courſe of life, were many, but chiefly my health, which I preferre before all earthly treaſure; for I found that after I left the Grammar-Schoole, that the *ſmoky fumes, and noyſome vapors of the Citie* did much offend me, ſometimes driving me into a ſhaking Ague, ſometimes into a Burning Feaver, and continually diſtempering me, ſo that during the whole time I made my abode therein, there was ſcant a weeke together at any time that I perfectly enjoyed my ſelfe. Whereupon by the adviſe of the moſt learned *Phyſitians*, I tooke my flight into the Country, being by them perſwaded that

that the *sweete and subtile ayre* would best accord and suite with my Constitution: and this was one of the principall Causes that induced me to take vpon me this Course of life: other motiues there were, amongst the rest this was not the least, that I had often heard, and experience hath since verified vnto me that the[a] *Countrymans* life is the most innocent, harmlesse, and most pleasing to God of any profession or state of life in the world. For that he doth not raise himselfe by the ruines of any: he oppresseth no fatherlesse, nor wrongs no widowes: his Commerce is for the most part with the earth, and although he grow rich, shee growes not poore, or if she doe, conceales and buries it in her selfe. He never heares of her cryes at his dores, complaints in the streets, or Petitions in the Courts against him; all his actions are exposed to the eye of the world, he doth nothing in obscuritie or secrecie, the places of his Commerce are either the fields or the Markets; the Sunne is his light, and the Standard his measure, false lights and measures are odious and hatefull vnto him: He keepes his course as constantly as the Moone: if riches fall in his way, he stoopes and gathers them vp: if not, he vseth no sleights or tricks, or by-paths to come to them. Gaine he counteth goods when it is well gotten, otherwise wrong and robbery. Ambitious indeede he is, but it is to doe his King and Countrey service; and Covetous he is, receiving more than ten for a hundred, yea a hundred for ten, yet keepes himselfe out of the reach and danger of the Law, so legall is his vsury, so harmelesse his ambition. These were motiues likewise that induced me to take this Course of life vpon me. Others there were many, and this was not the leaft, for that it was the most vsefull and most necessary course and condition of life of any life in the world, without which no man can continue and subsist: for who is he that feeds vs, or who is he that cloths vs? is it not the Countryman? doth Corne

[a] *Beatus ille, qui procul negotijs, Vt prisca gens mortalium, Paterna rura bobus exercet suis.*

Horat.

Tempus in agrorum cultu consumere dulce est.

Ovid.

Inter omnes acquirendi modos est agricultura inprimis justa èmatre terræ quæstum pariens, corpora non enervans, vt artes sordidæ plerræq; sed ad labores et pericula subeunda roborans.

Arist lib. 1. Oeconom.

Omnium rerum ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil agricultura melius, aut libero homine dignius.

Cicero.

O fortunatos nimiùm, sua si bona norint,
Agricolas, quibus, ipsa, procul discordibus armis,
Fundit humo facilem victum justissima tellus.

Virg lib. 2. Georg.

Virum bonum cum majores nostri laudabant, ita laudabant, bonum *agricolam*, bonúmq; *colonum*; amplissimè laudari existimabatur qui ita laudabatur, inquit *Cato*.

Cato de re rustica; initio.

Cum mercatorum quæstus sit periculosus et calamitosus, cum fœnerator ũ inhonestus et dedecorosus, cum opificum sordidus et illiberalis: sola est *agricultura*, ex qua quæstus stabilissimus honestissimúsq; consequitur, minimèq; dolosus. *Arist.*

grow in the ſtreets, or are ſheepe bred in the Markets? Are not the fields our Seminaries? and doth he not play the part of the Alchumiſt? are they not his labours that produceth and extracteth them? therefore although I attribute as much to the Citie as any man, yet ſo long as a man may be as honeſt, as juſt, as good a Chriſtian, and a better Common-wealths man, I muſt ever preferre the Countrey. Theſe were motiues likewiſe that induced me to take this courſe of life vpon me: yet theſe were not all, others there were, for that many [b] *Kings* and *Princes* haue taken this profeſſion vpon them, and many Prieſts and Prelates haue taken ſpeciall notice of the good ſervice the Country-man doth in the Common-wealth, and therefore haue honoured him with divers priviledges which they haue denied to other profeſſors. The Emperors by the Imperiall lawes haue appointed that no Lacheſſe of ſuite, or not demaunding his patrimonie after the death of his Father within the time prefixt, ſhall prejudice him: alſo that he may lay any exception peremptorie after ſentence given, wherein he hath equall power with the Knight or Souldier. The Kings & Queenes of *England* likewiſe well weighing the good ſervice that theſe men did in the Commō-wealth vpon all occaſions, haue had a ſpeciall care of them; and therefore haue ordained that their [c] *Plowes* and *Cattell* belonging vnto them, ſhall not be taken in execution for a diſtreſſe. King *Henry* the ſeventh much tendring their good and welfare, did by a Statute made in the fourth yeare of his Raigne, which paſſeth by the name of the good Statute, ſpecially provide, that every perſon of what degree or eſtate ſoever that had any houſe at any time for three yeares then laſt paſt, or that then was or that afterwards ſhould be letten to farme with twentie Acres or more, lying in tillage or huſbandrie ſhould maintaine the ſaid houſe vpon the ſame, for maintenance of tillage and husbandry.

[b] *Haud Moſes, haud ipſe Noemus et Abram,*
Has curas humileſq; boum ſprevere labores:
Sed ſtudium colere arva fuit, vel paſcere pingues,
Balantum per rura greges & bucera ſecla.
Great Kings and Conſuls haue oft for blades,
And glittering Sceptors, handled bookes and ſpades.
Bartas.

Numa Pompilius *from the Plow was called to be the King of the* Romanes, *and* Quintus *to be a Diſtator of* Rome. Gordius *being called from the Plow to be King of the* Phrygians, *gaue for his Armes the Plow, with a knot of traces & ropes, with which his horſes did draw, which his poſteritie did vſe as the moſt honorable Emblems, being a profeſſion without which a Kingdome cannot ſubſiſt.* Ferne *in* Lacyes *Nobilitie.*

The Plow *is held an excellent bearing in Armes.*
Boſwell.

[c] *See the* Statute *of* Weſt. 2°. *cap.* 20. 4°. H. *the* 7. *cap.* 19.

King *Henry* the eight likewiſe *by two ſeverall Statutes*, the one made in the ſeventh yeare of his Raigne, the other made in the twenty-ſeventh yeare, reciting the Statute of King *Henry* the ſeventh, by the name of the *good Statute*, doth confirme what had beene graunted in his Fathers time, and further graunts as in the ſaid Statute it may appeare. King *Edward* the ſixth by an Act of Parliament made in the fift yeare of his Raigne doth doe the like. Queene *Elizabeth* likewiſe in ſeverall Acts of Parliament, made during the time of her Raigne, was not forgetfull of them. And Pope * *Pius* the fifth well weighing and conſidering how neceſſary a member the husbandman is in the Common-wealth in the Preamble to the Charter of Priviledges which he graunts vnto them, thus ſpeaketh of them, conſidering how by the diligent care and paines of our deare Children, our Citie which in times paſt was environed with the Sea, and wanted proviſion of Corne to relieue her ſelfe, *Noſtris felicibus temporibus* in theſe halcyone dayes of ours is not onely free from wants, but is able to relieue her neighbours, and which is not the leaſt benefit, we haue the ayre about our Citie which in times paſt was foggie and vnhealthfull by reaſon of the wateriſh and marſhie grounds which did environ it, is by the drayning and plowing of it, become pure and healthfull: and conſidering againe that they which doe apply themſelues to follow tillage and husbandry, ought not to be drawne from their buſineſſe to attend the Courts of Iuſtice, leaſt thereby tillage ſhould grow into decay. *wee of our ſpeciall grace do confirme* vnto them all priviledges which haue been graunted vnto them by any of our predeceſſors, by any former Lawes or Statutes; and further *graunt*, that whoſoever ſhall come vnto our Citie with any Corne or graine, that he ſhall be free from the **payment of all manner of Toll* whatſoever, and that all they which inhabite within fortie miles of our Citie, and vſe

7. H. 8. *Cap.* 1.

27. H. 8. *Cap.* 22.

5. Edw. 6. *Cap.* 5.

* Vide Statuta nobilis artis agriculturæ vrbis Romæ.

* Vt facilius commodiúſq; omnes poſſint, ad vrbẽ hanc noſtram frumenta liberè cõvehere, ad vrbem accedentes ab omni onere quocũq; prædictis frumentis immunes eſſe perpetuò declaramus.

the laudable art of Tillage and husbandry, ſhall not be diſturbed and moleſted either in ſeede or harveſt time, but ſhall haue free libertie as well to gather in their Corne as to ſow it; and that their *Oxen* belonging to their Plowe *Tanquam commoditatis immò neceſsitatis publicæ inſtrumentis*, ſhall be free from any diſtreſſe for any Civill dutie or obligation, not onely at the times aforeſaid, but alſo at all other times. And whatſoever priviledges haue beene graunted in the beſt and moſt flouriſhing times, wee doe moſt willingly graunt and confirme. So carefull and vigilant haue the Civill and Eccleſiaſticall Magiſtrates both Prince and Prelate beene to vphold and maintaine the husbandmans profeſſion, as the chiefe pillar of a State, and welfare of a Kingdome. For they wiſely foreſaw that if there were not a ſpeciall eye and regard had vnto it, that thoſe houſes which were vſed to be receptacles of many honeſt Farmers and good livers, would in a ſhort time come to ruine and deſtruction; that thoſe arable Lands belonging vnto them, which formerly had maintained whole families, would be turned into paſture. Thoſe Villages which conſiſted of many families, and that did ſend forth vpon all occaſions the moſt [d] *ableſt men* of a Kingdome to doe their King and Country ſervice, would be depopulated. Yea thoſe Churches, Steeples, Bels, and all conſecrated to divine ſervice, would be raced and demoliſhed and turned into a Sheep-coate, and all to maintaine one familie a Shepheard and his dog. So that by this meanes, idlenes the deſtruction of many flouriſhing Kingdomes and Common-weales would haue a free paſſage into a Kingdome, and thoſe many men that were vſed formerly to haue a liuelihood out of thoſe lands, would be ſent into the high wayes to ſeeke their fortunes; for what els can be expected when the Country is encloſed and no admittance to be had there, but that they muſt roue at randome and worke out a fortune

Boves aratorios, omniáq; inſtrumenta *ad agriculturam*, neceſſaria, non ſupradictis temporibus tantùm, ſed perpetuò pro quavis civili obligatione auferri prohibemus.

[d] Ex *agricolis* et viri fortiſſimi et milites ſtrenuiſſimi gignũtur, maximéq; pius quæſtus ſtabiliſſimúſq; conſequitur, miniméq; invidioſus, miniméq; malé cogitantes ſunt, qui in eo ſtudio occupati ſunt. *Cato* de re ruſtica, initio.

Piſcatores, auctupes, dulciarios, linteones, omneſq; qui aliquid tractãſſe videbuntur ad gynæcea pertinens, longè arbitror pellendos a Caſtris, *agricolas*, fabros ferrarios, carpẽtarios, macellarios et Cervorum aprorumq; venatores conuenit ſociare militiæ. *Veget.*

tune though with the adventure of their lines, where they can finde it. The Citie will not entertaine them, and if they would, they are not fit to doe them ſervice, having ever beene bred in the Country. So that I may ſafely conclude, that the originall and firſt moving cauſes of many of thoſe **felonies, robberies, burglaries* and *murthers* which are now adayes committed, proceede from the Arch-enemy to our Plowe the Encloſing depopulator, yet you in the Citie are not altogether to be excuſed, you are Acceſſaries after the fact to theſe miſdemeanors, you harbour and reſette thoſe men that otherwayes muſt of neceſſitie liue in the Countrey, they come vnto you vpon pretence to ſaue ſome Charges, which they ſuppoſe are waſtfully ſpent vpon knaues in the Countrey, but their accounts being caſt vp at the yeares end, they fayle in their Concluſions. I my ſelfe haue knowne ſome of thoſe ſaving frugall men, and haue heard of many more, but never heard of any that thrived by it, it may be ſomething may be ſaved in hoſpitalitie by leſſening of a familie, and by changing of a ſtately Country-houſe for a few roomes in a poore Shop-keepers Cell. A ſufficient colour ſure to blind ſome daſled eyes, when there is fiue times as much ſpent another way, in *Clothes* and *Coaches*, in fights and ſhewes, which might haue beene ſaved if they had liued in the Countrey. For there are ſo many bewitching attractiues in the Citie, and Ladies ſo much given to longing, that no ſooner doe they open their Caſements in the morning, but they ſee ſomething in another, though perhaps **1* anticke which they doe want, which if they cannot forſooth haue, they are either ſicke or melancholy, and nothing will cure them but a receipt of that ſight which they then ſaw, which muſt forthwith be had, though with the expence of treble the value of it: ſo that I haue often heard of ſome of thoſe ſaving wiſe men, that haue come to your Cities for ſuch Phyſicke,

**What inconveniences doe enſue by the turning of Tillage into paſture. See in the latter end of Tirringams Caſe, reported by Sr Edw. Cooke, in his fourth Booke, and in the beginning of the Statute, 4to H. 7.*

**1 Gay golden clothes and garments pounced out,*
Silke laid on ſilke, and ſtitched o're the ſame;
Great loſſe and play and keeping reuell route,
With groſſer knackes, I liſt not now to name;
Hath by abuſe brought worlde quite out of frame.
Churchyard.

Phyſicke, haue beene brought ſo low by ſuch receipts, that at length they would haue gone home, if they might, but the *) *Coach, Coach-horſes* and all were gone. Your ſelues had taken poſſeſſion of the Encloſures, and the Gentleman was eaſed of the knaues that ſo much troubled him and his familie.

*) *The Gent. is faldome well at eaſe,*
Till that he ride to London *all in poſt;*
And vp and downe the Dice and Cards be toſt.
When he a while about the ſtreets doth roame,
He borrowed pence at length to bring him home.

Vrban. Sir, why doe you make vs Acceſſaries to theſe miſdemeanors? we ſeldome inuite you or ſend vnto you to come vnto vs. We are men of myſteries and liue by our trades and occupations; our ſhops are open to all Commers, and our houſes to our friends and Cuſtomers, and it were inhumanitie and diſcurteſie in vs, when your Ladies ſend vnto vs to lodge and lye with vs, to deny them ſuch a Curteſie, when as wee get our liuings by them and ſuch as they are. Or why doe you lay any blame vpon your Ladies, as though they were any cauſe of your ruine and ouerthrow. They poore Ladies, deſire but Clothes, and thoſe in faſhion (being all the riches that they can juſtly challenge as their owne) and a little meat and drinke in lieu of thoſe great portions which they brought vnto you, and when they haue them they keepe them as carefully as they doe their eyes, and how can they be the cauſes of your ruine and deſtruction?

Ruſtic. I would I could ſay ſo too, and juſtly excuſe them, but alas I cannot, for it is too true they are our wiues that firſt ſollicite & perſwade vs to come to your Cities, and ſo the firſt moving Cauſes of our ruine oftentimes: and when we are there wee cannot want inſtruments that will put to a helping hand, the †*Stewes*, the *Ordinaries*, the *Play-houſes*, the *Tauernes*, and rather than we ſhall fayle the *Brokers* will helpe vs to a Commoditie of browne Paper to helpe vs forward; So that I wondred at the firſt how a Gentleman of our Countrey confining himſelfe within the precincts of foure or fiue roomes for the moſt part of his time, could conſume

†Vbi quæſo niſi in vrbibus voluptates fædæ habitant? vbi lenocinia et proſtrata paſſim pudititia? vbi ſtupra et adulteria, et incæſtus atq; omnis generis corruptelæ? vbi luxus et gula inexplebilis? vbi mons ſuperbiarum? vallis formidinum? palus libidinum, et mare miſeriarũ? vbi patẽtes inimitiæ et occultæ fraudum tendiculæ? vbi demùm virtutum fuga, & imperium peccati omnis? infidi notarij, voraciſſimum fœnum, et quicquid mali homo in hominẽ molitur. Qui hæc et quæ ſunt hujuſmodi cernere expetit vel audire, non longa eſt via, proximum vrbem petat, quæcunq; illa ſit, quamvis anguſta plenam talium inveniet. Horũ namq; malorum fons eſt *Ciuitas*, adeò vt quæ ad tutelam hominis facta erat, ad ejuſdem excidium verſa eſt.

Petrarch.

ſume an eſtate of a thouſand pound by the yeare within a dozen yeares or leſſe; but when I heard what Courſes he tooke, what Company he frequented, I wondred then how he could continue ſo long. Our old Chronicles tell vs, and ſo doe our Bookes of the Lawes and Statutes of the Kingdome of ENGLAND, that

§ 16. R. 2. *Cap.* 4.
20. R. 2. *Cap.* 2.

Our Elders did not ſo delight in traſh,
And tempting toyes, that brings a man in laſh;
They lou'd plaine robes, but hated purſes bare:
Made much of men: gaue Neighbours beefe & bread,
Yet left their heires rich when they were dead.
They raiſ'd no Rents to make the Tenant whyne,
Nor clapt no yoke on friendly Neighbours necke;
Nor made poore folke find fault with Cut-throte fine.
But had the hearts of people at a becke,
As we haue now our ſeruants vnder checke.
O how plaine men would follow Landlord than,
Like ſwarmes of Bees when any warres began;
Yea glad was he that might with Maiſter goe,
Though charge and wife he left at home behinde;
In this fine world the manner is not ſo:
Hard handling makes men ſhew another minde,
Then loyall loue made mens affections blinde:
Now can they ſee and will doe what they liſt,
Caſt off like Hawkes, come when they pleaſe to fiſt.

h *His* Table dormant *in his Hall alway,*
Stood ready covered all that line-long day;
Without bakemeate *was never his houſe,*
Of fiſh & fleſh *and that ſo plenteous:*
As Chaucer *obſerues of the* Frankline *the noble Houſekeeper of* England.

It was anciently the honour of the *Engliſh Nation* to keepe good h *Hoſpitalitie*, and to be well attended; and men were ſo much addicted thereunto, that diverſe

Nobilitatis *Anglicæ* decus olim fuit rure vivere, *hoſpitalitatem* colere: ex his ſuper cæteras gentes famam meruerimus, ſed nunc viri generoſi, quibus in vrbe nihil rei eſt, fœminarum ambitione eò trahuntur, mariti vt vxoribus, parentes vt filiabus gratificentur, nec enim niſi *Londini* novam et tranſmarinam veſtium formam invenire eſt: at *Londini* ſi nuptæ ſunt, nuptiarum ſpem evertunt, ſi innuptæ, famam et maritalem cenſum.

Mos *Italorum* obtinuit vt viri generoſi alijq; permulti relictis agris in vrbes migrent. Obſecro (inquit *Sereniſſimus* nuper *Rex* in oratione 5.) peregrina hæc eò relegemus vnde orta ſunt, et antiquum *Angliæ* morem poſtliminio revocemus.

Lawes and Statutes were made to prohibite them from drawing ſuch long tayles after them; but they were not then ſo forward, but now they are as backward: that which our fore-fathers beſtowed vpon the neceſſary feeding of many bellies in the Country, we beſtow vpon our backs in the Citie; and that which they beſtowed on many blew Coats with Cogniſances, we beſtow on a Coach and avant-Courrier; yet they kept their eſtates, we ſpend them, they lived and dyed rich, we miſerable. Theſe were motiues likewiſe that made me leaue your Cities, and betake my ſelfe to a poore Cottage in the Country. Yet theſe were not all. Other reaſons there were that did much prevaile with me; and this was one. For that it pleaſed the great[3]* *Iehovah* God Almightie in the *Countrey* to diſtribute his ſacred Lawes and Ordinances to his ſervant *Moſes*, as being the moſt convenient and proper place for it; for that is one of the chiefeſt reaſons that I finde to haue beene given wherefore God went out into the [1]*remote places* to deliver thoſe ſacred myſteries; becauſe he found in your Cities you were given to pride, to ſelfe-loue, to detraction, to envie, and inclinable to arrogate the invention of thoſe ſacred Lawes vnto your ſelues: and therefore to giue you no occaſion to glory in thoſe things wherein you had no hand, he went out from you, he left your Cities and betooke himſelfe into the Countrey. In the Mount did God deliver thoſe holy Lawes and Statutes. Thus not onely the Kings and Emperours, but even the King of Kings hath honored the Countrey with many extraordinary graces and favours aboue the Cities. Theſe were motiues, I ſay, that did much prevaile with me. Yet others there were, as when I called to minde the happineſſe generally which the Country-man enjoyes; how he is not much troubled with cares of building, nor terrified with[4]* *feares* of looſing what he hath builded. He hath little Commerce

[3] In Sinai veniunt, monitiſq; eacumina *Moſes*
Conſcendit, *Dominus* fœdera ſancta novæ.
Exod. 19. 20.

[1] Quærentibus, quæ cauſa ſit, cur deus non in Civitate, ſed in vaſta ſolitudine, leges condiderit, reſpondendum, cenſeo, (inquit *Philo*) quod Civitates complures, malis, (de quibus dicere reformidat oratio) impietate erga deum, injuſtitiâ erga ſe motuò redundabant. *Philo Iud.* de 10. *Præcept.*

[4]* Non illum inſidiæ, non ſpes, non *pallida* torquet,
Suſpitio, non ille dolos, aut crimina veſtat.
Sed tectas avibus pedicas molitur, et auceps
Decipit, aut Cervis varas, et retia figit.
No fallow feare doth day, or night affright him.
Vaine ſuſpition doth night or day addreſſe him:
Or if he muſe on guile, it is but to get
Beaſt, Bird, or Fiſh in veyle, in ſnare, or net.
Bartas.

merce with Commodities subiect to the fury of fire and water. He seldome adventures vpon the [k] *Seas* or builds stately Towers vpon the Land: his Rents are his Revenues which the fire and water may wash and purifie, but hardly take from him. And if it chance a suddaine fire and inundation to happen, a small matter will repaire his ruines and losses: his [3] *roomes* are not hanged with the rich Tapistry of *Flaunders*, neither is his house furnished with the fine linnen of *Holland*: he drinkes not in silver-vessels, neither are his garments fringed or imbroydered; he is seldome troubled with his Coach, Coach-horses, or a disordered Coachman, but in stead of them he hath a competent quantitie of household-stuffe, enough and no more; one plaine Table-bord with Chaires and stooles furable; he drinkes in earthen vessels, or in vessels made of Tynne or Copper, in which his drinke relisheth as well as in bowles made vp of the purest mettall: his bedsteds are plaine, his beds are of Flox, which though they are hard, yet they are wholesome, especially in the Summer season: and his Curtaines are made of the wooll of his **owne sheepe. Two garments* he hath and no more, one for the Winter season, the other for the Summer, and as many servants, one of the masculine, the other of the feminine sexe, and one horse well vnder-laid to carry him and his Commodities through the dirt to the Market, and this is his fortune: so that if a misfortune doe befall him, his friends and acquaintance can easily set him vp againe. Againe when I considered how that the Country-man hath more [l] *freedome and libertie* than you in the Citie, if he be addicted to his studie, he hath more time to

[k] O fortunatum, *mare* qui tam flebile nunquam,
Navigat, experto credens,
No other Seas he knowes, no other torrent,
Then that which waters with his silver-current.
His native meadowes. Bar.

[3] Si luxus, si vestis abest, si *Chara supellex*,
Picta nec aurcolo sub tegmine purpura ludit;
Nec picti rident postes, & lævia eburnis
Tessellis tabulata nitent, nec sutilis arca
Clausos cælat opes, et avaræ pondera lamnæ;
Nativâ ar propriolanâ sibi nevit amictus:
Fontibus antra madent, arcq; horna onerantur inemptis
Vina Cadis, plenóq; greges numerantur ovili.

**What though his Wardrope be not stately stuft,*
With sumptuous silkes, pinche and pounst and puft:
He is warme wrapt in his owne growne wooll,
Of vnbought Wines his Cellar's ever full.

Avaritiæ rarò sunt addicti *rustici*, hi curant solùm abscondere paupertatem, vt *Rustius* apud *Tibullum* de se loquitur.

Non ego divitias patrum, fructúsq; requiro,
Quos tulit antiquo condita messis avo.
Parva seges satis æstivo securus acervo.

[l] Libet jacere modò sub *antiqua ilice*, modò in *tenaci gramine*. Horat. *Augustus Cæsar* de quodam *Romano* negotiatore mortuo dicebat, miror, cùm tempus illum defecerit ad negotiandum, quomodò moriendi tempus reperire potuerit.

Vide apologum de luscinia, & hirundine: quo ostenditur, melius foris vivere quiete, quàm in vrbibus molestia.

O semideum: certè qui *rure* commorator, vbi quis quotidiè cum vicinis suis ante *portam in platea*, vel per ipsam quoq; fenestram confabulari possit.

looke over his bookes, if to his pleaſures and delights, he hath more time to hawke and hunt: if he deſire to viſite his friends, he hath more time to laugh and be merry with them: if to refreſh and recreate himſelfe at his meales, he hath more time to ſit by it: if he haue a deſire to walke into the ſhady groues, or by the ſilent rivers, he may doe it without [n] *attendance, and no man will taxe him of not keeping ſtate.* If he deſire to goe in a plaine habite, no man will condemne him, for that it was the old faſhion of *England.* Againe, when I conſidered that the Country-man hath not ſo many cauſes of [n] *diſcontent and diſquietnes, as you in the Citie* haue; for if he at any time chance to walke abroad, he meetes with few or none but poore Cottagers, poore Carters, diggers and delvers, and in converſing with them is put in minde of his own happineſſe, how much he is bound with [o] *Plato* to prayſe God, who hath placed him in degree ſo farre aboue thoſe poore men, who might haue made him a bruit beaſt, or a Barbarian, or as meane as the meaneſt. In one place he beholds a poore Cottage, that hath no other windowes than ſerue to let out the ſmoke, no other hangings, than what the Spider affords, no other bedſteds, or Table-bords, than the bare earth, no other bedding than plaine ſtrawe, or ſuch as the barne affoords, no other Cowches, or Chaires, or ſtooles, or fourmes, or benches, or Carpets, or Cuſhions, than what Nature hath wrought with her owne hands, the groundworke being the earth, and the greene graſſe, the Cowſelap, the Primroſe, the Honiſuckle, the workemanſhip, ſweete and fightly enough, but quite and cleane out of faſhion, and not in that requeſt as the curious workes of Art are. In another place he beholds one digging and delving in dirt and mire, either in making of ditches or ſcowring of trenches. In another place, one ſtanding vp to the knees in ſtinking excrements, lading his Tumbrell to manure his Land. Here he

[n] *Domino nullo fragule, nullo ſervo opus eſt, ſed vnuſquiſq; ſolus, ex vna vicinia in aliam animi cauſâ, ſeſe confert, ſic vt nemini de honore ſuo detrahatur.*

[o] *In celſo, & humili loco viventes diſcrepant in eo, quòd is qui vivit in humili, pauperes quorum miſereatur, ubi multos obverſari videt: ſed is qui degit in illuſtri multos opulentos contemplatur, vt ob invidiam macie contabeſcat.*

[o] *Moribundus Plato, naturæ gratias egit, quòd homo, non brutum, quòd mas, non fœmina, quòd Græcus non barbarus.*

Vide fabulam de aſino, ſimia & talpa, quæ ſignificat illos qui ſe judicant infæliciſſimos, comparatione aliorum fælices eſſe. Aſinus infælicē ſe putabat, quod nulli animali eſſet terribilis: Simia, non tanta eſt turpitudo tua quanta mea, qui ſum ſine cauda. Talpa, quid queriminiſi cum ſciatis me captum oculis, et ſempiternas in tenebras à natura procreatum fuiſſe.

he beholds one comming from the Market with his Candles in one hand, his Canne in the other, his Wallet on his backe, and his Tarbox at his girdle: there another comming from the Wood with fuell on his backe to warme him when he comes home. In a third place, a poore Shepheard ſitting on the ſide of a hill, or on a playne in a colde Winters day, ſhivering and ſhaking as if an Ague had taken him, and dropping at the heeles, as if he had beene taken out of a River. All of them being clad in [p] *Sheepskins, like vnto our forefathers,* having no more clothes than they haue backs, no more proviſion laid vp in ſtore than wil ſerue them for a few daies, and no other revenue than their daily labour; in converſing with whom, I ſay, he's put in minde of his owne happineſſe. Whereas you in the Citie ſeldome walke abroad, but you meete with obiects which offend and diſcontent you. Sometime you meete with an Alderman, and repine (though you be rich) that you are not ſo rich as he; ſometimes you meete with a Baron, and repine, though you haue an Aldermans eſtate, that you haue not an eſtate of a Baron, and are never pleaſed, vnleſſe you meete with a [6*] *Knight,* and then you glory that they walke the ſtreets like Citizens, and you like Knights. Againe, when I conſidered how in the Country every man is valued according to his worth and merit, and not according to his riches and eſtate. If he be a good man, every one there will loue him, and honour him; if he be a diſhoneſt man, every man will hate and deſpiſe him. They will not ſuffer goodneſſe to be trampled vpon, nor knaverie to be applauded. Whereas amongſt you in the Citie, no man is honoured *ob id quod valet, ſed ob id quod habet.* If he be rich, there he ſhall be had in authoritie and renowne, be he never ſo bad. And if he be poore, there he ſhall be had in contempt, be he never ſo good. Againe, when I conſidered how in the Countrey men are more faithfull to their friends,

[p] Patres noſtri oberraverunt cum ovillis et Caprinis pellibus.

11. Heb. 37.

Our Fathers wore good Frees, to keepe them warme.
And Kendall-*greene in Summer for a ſhew.*
Churchyard.

[6*] *How the* Knights *of our time, degenerate from the order of Knighthood, it may thus appeare.*

Gerrard Leigh *writing of* Olybion, *who was the firſt & moſt auncient Knight, being Knighted with* Iaphets *fauchion, which* Tubal *made before the Flood, affirmes Hoſpitalitie to be one of the nine vertues, belonging to Knighthood: Now what Hoſpitalitie many of our Knights keepe, the nine nine-penny-Ordinaries doe ſufficiently manifeſt.*

The nine vertues belonging to Chivalry are, 1. *to worſhip God,* 2. *to honour father and mother.* 3. *to be mercifull.* 4. *not to wrong the poore.* 5. *not to turne thy backe to thine enemy,* 6. *to keepe thy promiſe.* 7. *to keepe Hoſpitalitie.* 8. *to do maydens right.* 9. *not to wrong the widow.*

Leigh.

more ¶ *honeſt in their Converſations*, and more loyall to their Soveraignes. It was an obſervation long agoe that never in a poore [r] *Country Cottage* was there any treaſon hatched. Againe, when I conſidered how that the Country-man is better provided with things neceſſary for the life of man, than you in the Citie; he never troubles himſelfe to ſend to the Shambles for his Beefe or Mutton, nor to the Poulterer for his Poultry: he hath *verveces, capreolas, et boves*, beefe and mutton of his owne ſtore, and wants nothing that the ſeaſon of the yeare can afford him: if Pigeons are in ſeaſon, he hath *Columbos domeſticos*, Pigeons at his dore in his owne Doue-houſe: if Pullets, Capons, or Conies are in ſeaſon, he hath *Pullaſtros, Capones, & Cuniculos*, in his owne Warren, and of his owne breeding: if Partridges, Cocks, or Pheaſants be in ſeaſon, he hath *perdices, palumbos, & phaſianos* in his owne fields or Woods not farre from him: if he want wooll to cloth him, he hath the wooll of his owne ſheepe *ad veſtiendum*: if he want Bacon, he hath Porkes of his owne *ad ſalliendum*: if he wants horſes, he hath Colts of his owne breeding *ad opera ſua exequendum*. So that he wants nothing which doth conduce to the vſe of man. Againe, when I conſidered how that in the Country there are no [7] * *foggie fennes or ſtinking vapours*, no young Phyſitians, no old diſeaſes, no man there knowes what *Venerea lues*, or [8] * *Morbus Gallicus* is, *Paralyſis & Podagra* are never heard of there, they were long agoe baniſht by [r] *Æſculapius*, and never returned to this day. *Inluba, Bolus, Syrupus*, and *Apozema* are ſtrange words amongſt them. Plaine Kitchin phyſicke is their phyſicke, and they know no other: no man there knows *quid lapides ſunt*, nor is at any time troubled with any ſuch thing, vnleſſe at ſuch times as they haue occaſion to carry them in *mapaliorum erigendorum gratiâ*, for building and reedifying of their Cottages. Whereas in the Cities let a man divide his eſtate in three parts, a third

¶ Non locat infami ſteriles in fœnore nummos,
Et ſuper. inſontem munera nulla capit
Ruſticus ——.

[r] *Plutarch in* Lycurgo.

[7] * Non animæ tabes, tectiſq; incluſa ſub arctis
Tarda lues, purum lento fœtore cruorem
Inficit, at cæli facies, et aperta, ſerena,
Semina languorum diſcuſſa tulêre per auras.
Never groſſe ayre poyſoned in ſtinking ſtreetes,
To ſhoake his ſpirits his tender noſtrils meetes:
But the open ayre wherein full breath he liues,
Still keepes him ſound, and ſtill new ſtomacks giues.
Bartas.

[8] * Morbus Gallicus *is called by the* Frenchmen *the evill of* Naples; *by the* Italians, *the diſeaſe of* France: *which how it began and when in thoſe parts, ſee* Gwicciardin *in the laſter end of his ſecond Booke of his Hiſtorie of* Italie.

[r] *In the fields both* Greekes & Romaines *built their Temples to* Æſculapius, *amongſt the Cottages of the Plowmen, and not in the Citie amongſt the pefired habitations of Artificers.*
Ferne.

third part is ſpent in *pharmacopolas, et medicos,* vpon Apothecaries and Phyſitians, [1] whom *Cambyſes* would haue *Cyrus* by all meanes to avoyde. Thus haue I ſhewed you briefly according to my promiſe, the motiues which induced me to betake my ſelfe vnto the Country, and judge you whether that I had not juſt cauſe ſo to doe.

[1] Medicè non viuendum. [1] *Cyrum* apud Xenophontem *Cambyſes* docet, vt fugiat medicos, qui veluti amictuum fractorũ refarcinatores, cùm aliqui ægrotárunt, tunc medentur. Et *Plato* pharmacorum vſum negligit damnátq; ſola namq; victus ratio, ad ſanationem morborũ, multò magis ad corporis conſtitutionem firmandam aut ſuſtentandam, vt ille putat, ſufficit.

Vrban. Sir, I am fully ſatisfied by your relation, that the Country-life is both a neceſſary, and a harmeleſſe courſe of life, and that there is no life to be compared vnto it, if we reſpect the health of our bodies onely; but what ſay you to the health of the ſoule, that may languiſh and pine away whileſt you are caring for your body, wanting thoſe meanes which we partake of in the Cities.

Tiberius, medicorum artes, atq; eos qui poſt trigeſimum ætatis annum ad internoſcenda corporis ſui vitia vel noxia, alieni conſilij indigerent, ridere ſolebat.

Ruſtic. Certainly, in both reſpects I dare be bold to ſay, that the Country is the place (if to any place preheminence may be given) wherein God is moſt delighted, and which is moſt pleaſing vnto him, of any place in the world. Let vs examine the matter a little, to what place was it, I pray you, that our bleſſed Saviour in his greateſt extremities alwayes betooke himſelfe to ſeeke for comfort and reliefe, to the Cities? No; *In monte pernoctavit orans, in monte transfiguratus, in montem moriturus aſcendit,* on the mountaine he prayed, on the mountaine tranſſigured, on the mountaine he dyed. Where was it that the holy [*] *Patriarks* and *Prophets* of old time lived? in the Cities? No; they left the Cities and betooke themſelues vnto ſolitary places; it was in the Country neere vnto the River *Iordan* where they built their houſes. Where was it that *Abraham* did ſo familiarly talke with God? was it among the ſumptuous buildings of the Cities? No; in *tabernaculis et conuallibus colloquerem Deum meruit, non in palatijs interq; delicias vrbanas*; it was among the poore Cottages in the Country; not among the high towring buildings of

[*] *Turbis et vrbibus deuitatis*; potentis agreſtibus victitantes, caſulas ſibi prope fluenta maris ædificabant prophetæ.

of the Cities: where was it that he entertained the Angels? it was vnder a * *ſhadie Oake* in the Country where thoſe happie feſtivals were celebrated, not in any ſtately Towne or Citie. Where was *Eliſæus* when the ſpirit of *Elias* was doubled vpon him, and when he wrought thoſe ſtrange miracles which he did? He was either in the Deſert of [z] *Idumea*, or neare vnto the River *Iordan*. Of what place did *Iſaac* make choyſe to meditate on heaven and heavenly things? *Egreſſus eſt ad meditandum in agro*: he went forth into the Country to meditate. Where was *Iacob* when he ſaw the Angels aſcending and deſcending? Was he lying on a ſoft featherbed in the Citie? No; he was lying on a [9]* *ſtony-bed* in the Country. To leaue the Prophets and Apoſtles: in what place did the reverend Fathers of the Church moſt deſire to ſpend their dayes in? in the Cities? No; *difficile eſt in turba invenire Iheſum*; it is a hard thing (as S. *Auſtin* was vſed to ſay) in a Crowde to finde the Lord. And therefore he betooke himſelfe to the Country *ad montem Piſani*, to finde him out. From whoſe breaſts did that holy Father Saint *Bernard* ſucke that abundant meaſure of knowledge that did liue and dwell in him? *Solebat ille dicere omnes, ſe quas ſciret litteras in ſylvis & agris didiciſſe. Non hominum diſciplinis, ſed meditando & orando, nec ſe vllos magiſtros habuiſſe præter quercus & fagos*: He was vſed to ſay, that all the learning that ever he had, he got it in the woods and fields by praying and meditating, and that he never had any other tutor than the Oakes and Beeches. Where did that golden Father Saint *Chryſoſtome* liue? did he not in his youth abandon the [y] *Cities*, and the intricate ſtudies there read & raught, and betake himſelfe to the Country, to the companie of old *Cyrus*? Nay, to what places did many Princes, Potentates, & wiſe-men of old time retyre themſelues? Did not [x] *Charles* the great reſigne all his intereſt in *Auſtria*, the portion of his inheritance to his younger brother

* Sub quercus vmbra glandiferæ conuiuium celebratum erat, non ſub auratis laquearibus tectorum.
Petrarch.

[z] Vbi erat *Helizæus* quando geminum rapti ducis conſecutus eſt ſpiritum, quando ferrum contra naturã et conſuetudinẽ ſuam natans flenti reſtituit amico; quando tribus regibus totidémq; regijs exercitibus, ne perirẽt ſiti, repleto ſine vllis imbribus torrente, ſubvenit?
Petrarch.

[9]* Impoſitâ ſaxo *Iacob* cervice quieſcens,
Aligeros ſcalas vidit inire Choros.
Geneſ. 28.

[y] Vitavit turbam & raro conſpectus eſt in populo.

[x] *Petrarcha.*

ther *Pepin*, and betakes himſelfe *ad latibulum in monte Socratis*, to a little Caue in the mountaine of *Socrates*. Of what place did *Numa* make choyſe to deliuer his Lawes vnto his people, of the Citie of *Rome*? no, but of a Mountaine neare vnto *Aritia*, neare ten myles diſtant from the *Metropolis*. Where was it that *Scipio Africanus* betooke himſelfe after that he ouercame *Hannibal*, ſubdued *Africa*, and warred a long time in *Spaine* and *Aſia*, vnto *Rome*? no, he went from thence and betooke himſelfe to a little Village in *Campania*, lying betweene *Puteolus* and *Capua*, where he ſpent eleven yeares, and neither came either to *Rome* or *Capua*. Where was *Diocleſian* when the *Romaine* Ambaſſadours came vnto him with Letters from the Senate to entreate him to take vpon him the Empire againe? he was *inter lactucas* in his Country-garden, planting & watering of herbes; there was he when he returned this Anſwer vnto them: *Expertus ego ſum quid in aula ſit imperare, quid item in agro laborare, ſinite me quaſo in pace viuere, ego namq; multis omninò modis hic è manuum mearum labore vitam degere, quàm magna cum ſollicitudine imperare malo.* I know what belongs to both fortunes, I know what it is to rule, and what it is to labour. I pray you ſuffer me to liue in peace, for I had rather liue quietly by the ſweate of my browes, than rule and governe with cares and feares. Where was *Lucullus*, who alone of all the *Romane* Captains is ſaid to haue enjoyed in peace that which he had got in time of warre, when he feaſted and entertained all men of qualitie that came a-neare him: was he at *Rome*? No; after the warres betweene the *Romaines* and the *Parthians*, which continued ſixteene yeares were ended, comming vnto *Rome* and finding it in a combuſtion, by reaſon of the two factions of *Scylla* and *Marius*, he left it and betooke himſelfe to a Countrey-houſe, which he built neare vnto *Neapolis*; there it was where he peaceably enjoyed full twentie yeares that which with a great

* *Gueverra.*

deale of perill and danger he had gotten and obtained. To what place did *Cato Censorius* (*who was in his speech eloquent, in his conversation sober, in his chastisements severe, in his rewards liberall, in his dyet sparing, in his promises constant, in execution of justice inexorable*) betake himselfe in the fiue and fiftith yeare of his age? he forsooke *Rome*, and betooke himselfe to a little village not farre from *Pysa*, *Et ibi reliquum vitæ tempus, libris pro socijs vtendo tranquillè consumebat.* There, there this inscriptiō was found written vpon his dore-porch; *O felix Cato; tu solus scis vivere, tu solus bene beateq; vivendi rationem elegisti!* Where was it that *Pericles* wrot this inscription vpon the porch of his dore; *Inveni portum, spes & fortuna valete*; I haue found that which I lookt for, my hopes are at an end; was it in *Athens*? No; after he had governed there full forty yeares in the sixtith yeare of his Age he left it, and betooke himselfe to a Country life, and vpon his dore-porch in his Country-house there it was found. What reward did *Alexandrinus Crassus* his Maister desire of him, for all his labour and paines in instructing him full two & twenty yeares together? certainely no other then this, that he would giue him leaue to betake himselfe to a poore Country life. Where was it that *Seneca* wrote most of his books, was it in the Court of *Nero*? No; it was at his Country [b] *Farme* which lay neare vnto *Nola* a Towne in the middle of *Campania*. Where lived *Plato*, divine *Plato*, when he wrote the greatest part of his Workes, in *Athens*? No; he went from thence to a little village two myles distant from it, where he dyed, which the Auncients in honour of him called his Academie. Nay, what places did the Poets most affect, the Cities? No; What should they doe there, there was no place for them to repose themselues, to write the Battailes of [c] *Cressey*, *Poyctiers*, *Agincourt*, *Lepanto*, or any other memorable atchieuement. For besides the hideous disquieting

[a] Apud *prædium* suum, propè *Nolam*, Seneca libros suos de officijs, de ira, de bono viro, de adversa fortuna scripsit.

[c] *The battell of* Cressey *was fought the* 26. *of* August, Anno Domini 1346. *See the manner of it in the* French *Historie, in* Philip *of* Valois.
The battell of Poytiers *was fought the* 19. *of* Sept. 1356. *See the* French *Historie in* K. Iohn.
The battell of Lepanto *was fought the* 6. *of* Octob. 1571. *in which were slaine* 30000. Mahumetists, *besides those that were taken prisoners. See* Iohn Stow *in* Q. Elizabeth.

quieting cryes of kitching-ſtuffe, maribones, old ſhooes and bootes, old dublets, trayes, boules, diſhes, bellowes, glaſſes, kettles to mend, and the tumbling & rumbling of Carres and Coaches, *Pride*,* *luxurie*, and *Covetouſnes* for themſelues, and the black-gard their followers and attendants, had engroſſed and taken vp every corner there; wherefore the poore Poets were faine to betake themſelues to [d]*Tibur* or *Tarentum*, to the ſhady groves, or ſilent Rivers, or diſpeopled Cities.

Sylva placet Muſis, vrbs eſt inimica poetis,
Scriptorum Chorus omnis amat nemus, & fugit vrbes.

So that the Country hath ever beene eſteemed the moſt neceſſary and convenient place for the Muſes to inhabite, and for the health as well of the ſoule as of the body. The end of warre is peace, and the end of all our labour and travaile is [e]*reſt & tranquillitie*, which can no where ſo conveniently be found as in the Countrey. But to come home a little neare vnto you: you will ſay, that in your City you haue more cōduits ten for one to cōvey comfort to the ſoule, than we haue in the Countrey: I grant it, but take this with you, that as one good horſe is to be preferred before ten reſtie jades, one good hawke before ten bangling buzzards, one true hunting dog, before ten ſtragling curres; ſo one learned painefull Paſtor before ten ignorant careles ones. It is true, in our great Pariſh wee haue but one, but ſuch a one, as I dare compare to ten of yours, being learned, ſober, and honeſt, and which doth adde a luſtre to them all, as hoſpitable as his meanes will giue him leaue, yet hating tipling, as the bane of religion: he preacheth duely once a weeke, every Sabbaoth in the morning, Catechiſeth in the after-noone. Yea, indeede he preacheth every day in the weeke, yea every houre in the day, every [10]* *Action* of his being a precept vnto vs, every word an Oracle,

 what

*—*Romæ* ne me poemata cenſes
Scribere poſſe, inter tot curas, totq; labores.

[d] *Horatius Flaccus* non jam ſibi regiam Romam placere palàm prædicat, ſed vacuum *Tibu*, raut *imbelle Tarentum*.

Petrarch.

Rura ſacros vates, gelidæq; in vallibus vmbræ,
Blandáq; graminei ceſpitis herba juvant.
The ſhadie groues *the Poets moſt affected*,
The woods *as friends, as foes they* Cities *deemed*.

[e] *Otium* eſt ſolamen præſentium laborum, præteritorum merces, venturi tēporis ſpes.

Petrarch.

In rerum Civilium verſari fluctibus, carere ſomno; cibum non ſumere in tempore, mortifera res eſt: at *Ruſticatio* vitam quietam, liberam, honeſtam, & frugalitatem convenientem præbet.

Ænæus Sylvius.

[10]* Qui Evangelium ſanctificat, curare omnimodò debet, ne quæ in prædicando macula, ne quod in dicendo vitium, ne quæ in magiſterio culpa naſcatur; ſed ſi fieri poteſt (vt ita dixerim) ſemetipſū primò immolet, ſe primùm vitijs juguler, et ſua priùs peccato membra mortificet, vt non ſolùm doctrinâ, ſed et *vitæ exemplo* diſcipulorum ſalutem, oblationem ſuam acceptam faciat deo. *Origen.*

Doctorē oportet ſive loquatur, ſive ſileat, ſive vbicunq; locorū fuerit, omnibus alijs hominibus *excellere*, adeò vt aſpectu, inceſſu, habitu, et alijs cæteris præſtantior videatur. *Chryſoſtome.*

Oculi, et dentes, *prædica-*

sores sint sanctæ Ecclesiæ, qui ei et resta itinera prævidere, et alimenta spiritualia suggerere solent. *Hieronym.*

what he saith at the Table we beleeue, as if we heard him in the Pulpit; so faithfull is he in his words, so honest and just in his conversation, once a yeare he taketh an occasion to performe his filiall rights vnto his Father, and to absent himselfe from vs for the space of some few weekes, during all which time, every houre seemes a day, and every day a moneth to vs his Parishioners, no man enjoying himselfe, because they cannot enjoy him, and at his returne happie is the man that can haue the honour first to entertaine him. And indeede I dare say, there is no loue lost, and that our longing is not so much after him, as his is after vs: so happie are wee in him for our soules health. So that wee finde it vetified in him, that it is not the multitude of Shepheards which make the sheepe thriue, but the diligence of the Shepheards to whom the flocke are committed, and the more sensible are wee of this our happines in this our Pastor; by reason we see in what ** *discontentments* our neighbouring Parishioners liue in, what suits and contentions are between their Pastor and them; how often he comes and sends for an egge or an apple, and will rather loose the best of his Parish than loose one of them, vpon this pretence, that he hath a familie, and he that provides not for it is worse than an Infidell: though indeede the provisiõ be for the Patron, who did not giue but grant, (beshrow him for it) that which he should haue giuẽ, of which they his Parishioners are too sensible, and grone vnder the burthen of it, having the same measure measured vnto them, as the Patron measured vnto him. Whereas we never heare of any such thing, those poore tythes of Mynt and Cummin our Pastor lookes not after, onely desires an acknowledgement of his right vnto them, which we most willingly condescend vnto, and thereby he looseth nothing; for wheras there is but one of ten due to him, wee doe requite him for those small curtesies ten for one, and more wee would doe if he would

** Sicut acetum dentibus, et fumus contrarius est oculis, ita *sacerdos* in Ecclesia *prævaricatio* accedinem peccati, fidelium sensus obtundere solet. *Hieronym.*

would accept it, ſo doth he winne vs by his ſweete and affable Converſation among vs. Marry I know not what he would doe if he had ſuch a familie, or Patron as our neighbouring Pariſhioners ſay their Paſtor hath. But indeede he hath no other Spouſe then the Church, nor other Children then the poore, for whom hee doth as carefully provide, as if ſhee lay in his boſome, and were the naturall begotten children of his own body. And as for our Church, I dare compare it with your Mother-Church in your Metropolis, that ſhee is not ſo beautified without, nor adorned within as our Citie-Pariſh-Church is; no ſooner can a ſtorme deface any part of it, but every one runs as readily to repayre it, as to extinguiſh a fire: no ſooner can age ſeize vpon it, but every one addes to a pillar to ſupport it: no ſooner can a mote come into her glaſſie eyes, but every man is readie to pull it out: we deferre not the time vntill it be too late. When ſight is gone, there is no neede of an Occuliſt, when death hath levelled the body with the duſt, no vſe of the [f] *Phyſitian*. Wherefore wee kill the Cocatrice whileſt it is but an egge, and quench the [g] *flame* whileſt it is but a ſparke; we ſuffer not her dores at all houres in the day to lye open, neither will we admit her to be a throw-fare for every man to paſſe: it was not inſtituted for the Peripateticke to meaſure his paſes in, nor for the Broker to make it his *Rendevous*; if they come there at the time of divine ſervice, and tread vpon it as vpon holy ground, there they are admitted, if not, there is no place for them. So carefull are wee of our little Pariſh-Church.

Vrban: But how doe you weare out the long Summers day, and the tedious Winters night, having little or no company, or at leaſt not fit for your ſociety in the parts you liue in.

Ruſtic. Sir, I will giue you a true Accompt of it, in [h] the Morning as ſoone as ever I heare the Cocke, I riſe

[f] *Quum ſemel occiderit, et dè te ſplendida Minos*
Feceris arbitria:
Non, Torquate, genus, non te facundia, non te
Reſtituet pietas.
Infernis neq; enim tenebris *Diana* pudicum,
Liberat *Hippolytum*.
Nec Lethæa valet *Theſeum* abrumpere charo
Vincula *Pirithoo*.
Horat. lib. 4. Carm. od. 7. ad *Torquatum*.
Vide apologum de *medico* et *ægro*,
Nunc mihi naufragio quid prodeſt dicere facto,
Quâ mea debuerat currere Cymba viâ?

[g] Eſt aliquid primam ſcintillam extinguere, ſed cùm
Altiùs in flammam creverit, eſt aliud.

[h] *Excubitor* lucem prænunciat ales,
Ac ſomni, ac operum juſtas diſterminat horas;
Compellens reſidem ſpectacula ad inclyta florum,
Quos lachrymis aurora nitens rorantibus implet.
The creſted Cock *ſings hunts vp to him,*
Limits his reſt and makes him ſtirre betime;
To walke the Mountaines and the flowrie meades,
Impearld with teares which ſweete Aurora *breedes.*

out of my bed, and then after that I haue sent vp some prayers and prayses to my Creator, and given to every of my servants his particular Charge in the businesse committed vnto his care for that day. If the businesses of my Country will permit me, which I preferre before all other whatsoever, I take my progresse towards the high towring [h] *mountaines* to take a survey of my little fleeced flocke: where I spend about an houre or two, admiring to see nature so wittie and prevalent in those profitable silly creatures, as that they should be able amongst a thousand of the same age, colour, and feature to know and single out their owne darling, which the most skilfullest swayne will not vndertake to doe. That being done, for that is ever my first worke, I take my progresse further to the top of the hill, where I suck in the sweete and wholesome ayre, behold *Phœbus* surmounting himselfe vpon his Chariot, displaying his beames throughout the whole Horizon. I heare the [i] *prettie Larke, sweetly singing aboue me; the little Wren, to do the like beneath me,* [k] *Dorus & Dametas melodiously singing their roundelaies round about me*, each of them contending in their kinde to giue content vnto me: at last when I haue fully glutted my selfe with those delightfull objects, I take my flight thorow the flowrie meades and pastures home againe: and as I passe, I take a survey of my Cattell of all sorts both for [l] *paile and plowe*; and if I finde them well, all is well, if not, I take a strict account of him to whose care they are committed, and if I finde him carelessly faultie, having beene twice or thrice seriously premonished, I ease my selfe of him. Thus doe I weare out the time vntill about the houres of eleven or twelue of the Clocke. At which time vsually I returne home againe, being the houres appointed for eating with vs. Where I finde such provision as the Countrey affords ever readie, being for the most part, solide, substantiall foode, Beefe and Mutton, [m] *Butter and Cheese*, or

[h] Manē peto *manes*, post cænam, flumina, fontes.

[i] Numeros meditantur *aves*, et cantibus auras
Mulcentes, grato mala tædia murmure fallunt.
The cheerefull birds, *chirping vs sweet good morrowes,*
With natures musicke doe beguile our sorrowes.
The prettie Larke *clyming the welking tree,*
Chaunts with a cheere, here peere I neare my deare.
Bartas.

[k] *As the Moone the eye doth please,*
With gentle beames not hurting sight:
Yet hath Sr. Sunne the chiefest praise,
Betause from him proceeds the light.
So if my man must prayses haue,
What then must I that keepe the knaue?
See the *Arcad.* lib. 1.

[l] In reducta valle *mugientium*
Prospectas errantes greges.
Horat.

[m] Castaneæ molles, et *pressi copia lactis*,
Eduræq; nuces adsunt, atq; insita poma
Condita stant subitis incondita fercula cænis.
Milke, cheese and fruits, *fruits of our owne endevour,*
Dress without dressing haue we readie ever.
Bartas.

or the like; as for Quaile and Partridge, Cocke or Pheasant, I touch not, nor taste of, but leaue those for such as are weake and sicke, Children and old folkes to feede vpon: Wine I vse none, other than such as I beare about me, having a stomacke that needs no fuell to adde heate vnto it: and sawce I vse none other than hunger, and such as naturally I gather in travailing to and fro: neither indeed need I any; for ordinarily our stomacks are passing good, yet we make no great vse of them, we seldome eate to please the palate, or satisfie the appetite; onely eate to liue, giue [a] *nature* her due, not overburthen her; for we hate to be accounted any of *Epicurus* Schollers. And this is the course of life wee leade; and thus doe we spend the morning all the yeare, if the weather will permit it. And having thus refreshed my selfe, sometimes I betake my selfe to the fayres and markets, where Art and Nature were vsed to vent their choycest Wares and Commodities, I meane the Orchards and Gardens of the [b] *Hesperides*, those liuely resemblances of the *Elysian* fields, where I finde every hedge bespangled with roses of all kinds; here the Province, there the white and red rose: here a bed beset with violets and straw-berries, there another with lyllies and jelli-flowers: here a [c] *knot* drawne out more curiously than *Dædalus* his labyrinth, there another with as great skill and cunning: here the bower where *Venus* and *Adonis* were vsed to sport and play; there another where [d] *January* and *May* did recreate themselues: here a pleasant streame abounding with the choycest fish; there a shadie groue beset with fruits of all kinds: here the tree on which *Damian* abused his old Maister; there another on which grew those golden Apples, for which *Hercules* adventured himselfe against the Dragon: here a high Mount to sucke in the sweete and wholesome ayre; there a greene walke to stretch and stirre my aged lims, every corner being bedewed with the [e] *juice and water* of the

[a] Primùm operam do ne vnquam salurus, idem grave est, dein verò, vt per laborem ingesta consumam.
Xenophon.
Socrates dicere solebat quosdam vivere vt comederent, et biberent: se autem comedere et bibere, vt *natura* satisfaceret, et exoriùm vitæ fragilis sustentaret.

[b] *The* Hesperides *were the three daughters of* Atlas, *who had an Orchard of golden Apples kept by a Dragon which* Hercules *slew.*

[c] Tanta raritas et novitas vndiquaq; vt videatur in exiguum hunc locum naturam conclusisse, quicquid eximium habet noster et alter orbis.

[d] *See* Chaucer *in his Marchants tale.*

It is a good observation of a learned Armorist, *as the Knights in auncient time did make choyce of the* trefoyle *&* cinquefoyle *for their bearing in their Armes that grew in the fields; because in the field they should purchase their honour: So the Ladyes of the* Rose, *and the* flowers of the Gardens, *because that in the Gardē they should take most delight.*

[e] Finxerunt poetæ flores pleros; natos è sanguine deorum.

the gods, and every ſtep that I tread putting me in mind how man is aptly compared to a [r] *flower of the field.* For if I caſt mine eyes into one corner of it, I beholde the flowers budding, if into another I ſee them bloſſoming, if into a third, in [13] *full maturitie*, if into a fourth, declining, if into a fifth, quite withered and falne away. If I beholde them againe in their colours; I ſee one of one colour, another of another, a third of another, a fourth of another: if I chance to ſmell vnto them, I finde one to ſmell ſweetly, and to delight the ſence, another as gay, but of an ill ſmelling ſavour. If I caſt mine eyes aboue me, I ſee one vpon the Mount ſuddenly parcht with the Sunne, or [t] *nipt with the winde*: if, beneath me, another ſubject to be trodden & trampled vnder-foote by every childe and babe. Whereby I am put in minde of the true eſtate of humane frailtie, that there is a time for all things, a time to bud in the wombe, a time to bloſſome afterwards, a time to come to full maturitie, a time to decline, and a time to fade and fall away. How one man is of one complexion, another of another, a third of another, a fourth of another, one ſanguine, another flegmaticke, another cholericke, another melancholicke, how one man by a vertuous and honeſt life ſmells ſweetly in the noſtrils of all men, how another by his diſhoneſt courſes ſavours ſtrongly: how he that is [14] *on high* is ſubject to the ſtormes of envie & malice: how he that is below is ſubject to be grieved and oppreſſed, and how generally there is no ſtabilitie or permanencie in humane frailtie; but as the [15] *flowers of the field*, we bud, we bloſſome, we grow, we decline, and then fade and vaniſh away. Thus doe I ſpend an houre ſometimes in muſing and meditating: ſometimes againe I take a walke into the meades and paſtures, taking along with me one, two, or more Companions; ſometimes *Vegetius Frontinus*, and *Ælianus*, of whom I learne how a Souldier ſhould be qualified, and what exerciſes

[r] *Omnis caro velut fœnum, & omnis gloria hominis veluti flos graminis, exaruit fœnum, & flos decidit. Eſay* 40. 6. 1 Pet. 1. 24.

[13] Full gay *was all the ground and quaint,*
And powdred as men had it paint;
With many a freſh and ſundry flower,
That caſten vp full good ſavour.
Chawcer.

[t] Homo vt *floſculus* evaneſcit, *brevis* hunc *pruina* peruſſerit, *levis* hunc *aura* decuſſerit, ſubitò, vel inimicæ manus vngue decerpitur, vel præteuntis calce deprimitur.
Petrarch.

[14] *Infima calcantur, ſumma repentè ruunt.*
Precatio Mori.
Dent Superi, vt ſim
Nec nimium *felix*, nec miſerandus ego.

[15] *As fades the Roſe, ſo ſpendes our youth away,*
It growes, it blowes, it ſpreads, it ſheds her beautie in a day.

ercises he should vse when he is not in the warres: how he should be of a good (*) *Courage*, readie wit, & (*) *sound judgement*, to be able to know when to giue an enemy battell: how to take advantage of the winde and weather, of the Sunne, but especially of the (y) *ground* whereon he is to giue his enemy battell; how if he thinke to overcome a troupe of horse with a band of foote, then to make choyce of some vneven, hilly, wateriſh, rockie and woodie place; if with his horse to overcome the foote, then of some plaine, even and open ground where his horse may haue accesse and rush freely vpon the enemie. How againe with (x) *Cæsar* to giue an enemy passage having him in a straite and pitfolde, that he may take the more advantage of him in pursuit, how to saue himselfe with (y) *Trygon* by flight when he hath no other meanes to doe it: how to surprise a besieged Citie by a Stratagem with *Domitius*, when other meanes cannot prevaile: and how with (z) *Tarquinius Superbus* by fraud to overcome an enemy, when as force can doe no good. How his exercises should be riding of his horse, vaulting to make him apt to mount him, trayling of his pike, charging and discharging of his Musket, throwing of the barre and stone with hand and foote, wrastling, swimming, and generally all (a) *warlike and manly exercises*. How he should be alwayes vigilant, but then especially when any office of trust is committed vnto him, bearing alwayes in his minde how *Iphicrates* served one of his Souldiers, who finding him asleepe being a Sentinell, fastned him to the ground with his sword, and being taxed for his crueltie, answered, that he did him no wrong, *Qualem inveni, talem reliqui*, as I found him so I left him. How he should enure himselfe to all kinde of hardnesse, and abandon all manner of (*) *delicacies*, which will effeminate the most manlike & warlike spirits: these things and many other I learne of them. Sometimes I take along with me *Plutarchus Chæronæus*,

(*) Quem metuit ſtillæ, non eſt bonus armiger ille.

(*) Non licet in bello bis peccare.

(w) Bonum ducem convenit nõſſe magnam partem victoriæ, ipſum *locum*, in quo dimicandum eſt, poſſidere: qui tanto vtilior iudicatur, quanto ſuperior.

Veget. lib. 3.

(x) *Cæſar* Germanos ſuos ex *deſperatione* fortius pugnãtes emitti juſſit, fugientéſq; aggreſſus eſt; nam ex deſperatione creſcit audacia, et cùm ſpei nihil eſt, *ſumit arma formido*. Libenter cupit cõmori qui ſinè dubio ſcit ſe moriturum.

Veget. lib. 3. cap. 22. & Front. lib. 2. cap. 6.

(y) *Trygon* Syriæ rex victus per totum iter fugiens, pecuniam ſparſit & hoc modo effugit.

Frontin. lib. 2. cap. 13.

(z) *Frontin. lib. 3.*

(a) Oportet milites ſolis patientes eſſe, vmbræ negligentes, balnearum neſcios, delitiarum ignaros, parvo contentos, *durare ad omnium laborum tolerantiam membris*.

Veget. lib. 1°.

(*) Nil valet in bello, qui vivit *delicioſè*;
Nec ſine duritia bellica palma datur.

(a) *Reading of Historie very profitable vnto Princes. See* Phil Com. lib. 1. cap. 6to. *See more in* Suckliffs *Epistle to his booke of the lawes of armes.*

Iulius Cæsar ferè quotidianus erat in *Historijs* legendis et scribendis, tantáq; elegantiâ scripsit: (teste Plutarcho) vt nemo posterorum ad ampliandas ejus historias ausus est manum admouere. Et Basilius Græcorum Imperator, in libello ad filium Leonem sic commendat historiam: historias veteres percurrere ne pigeat, ibi enim reperies sine labore, quæ alij cum labore collegerũt; atq; illinc hauries vitæ humanæ varias mutationes, malorum pœnas et bonorum præmia, quorum illa fugies, hæc amplectêris.

Guevarra.

(*) Alexander *had not beene so famous, had he not so highly esteemed* Pindarus & Homer, *when he sacked* Thebes, *and put all to the sword, he saued* Pindarus *and his kindred, for his sake; & finding of* Homers Iliads *amongst the spoyles of* Darius, *put it in a Cabinet, and said, with* Homer *will I sleepe, with* Homer *will I wake,* Homer *is a fit companion for* Alexander.

Sola scripta sunt, quæ mortales quadam famæ immortalitate perpetuant: plus Cæsaris laudibus addiderunt scripta Virgilij, et Lucani, quàm omnes divitiæ de diversis provincijs acquisitæ; ideóq; principibus et his qui res arduas mundo gerunt, nihil ad laudis acquisitionem possit commodius inveniri, quàm eos familiares et amicos habere, qui scribendo scirent, et possent res gestas ad posteros derivare. *Blesi. Epist.* 77.

Præcipere qualis debeat esse Princeps, planè superbum est (ve inquit Plinius) laudare verò principem, ac per hoc posteris, velut è speculo lumen, quod sequantur ostendere, ideni vtilitatis habet, arrogantiæ nihil. *Plin. lib.* 3. *Epist.* 18.

(*) De Aula *Vitellij* dictum est, quòd vnum ad potentiam iter prodigis epulis, et sumptu, saginá; satiare inexplebiles Vitellij libidines. *Tacitus lib.* 2. *Idq; Lucanus lib.* 8. —*exstat aula, Qui volet esse pius.*

(16) *I trow the Divell put in his minde,*
Before this day of such question,
That every man should take ylike his part,
In all Arsemetricke there shall no man finde;
Who should make a demonstration
Of a sommer savour of a sart. Chaucer.

Lampridius, and *Philippus Comminæus*, of whom I learne what *Demetrius Phalereus* was vsed to tell King *Ptolomie*, and what *Severus* and *Alphonsus* had often in their mouthes, that there are no such bookes for Princes to looke over as are (b) *historicall bookes*, and the bookes which are written *de regno et re militari*. No such Counsellors for them to consult withall, as they who haue no tongues to flatter and dissemble: no sort of men more to be esteemed by them then (c) *wise and discreete men, whose words and workes can sound their praises and noble atchievements to all succeeding ages*. Sometimes I take along with me *Caius Suetonius*, of whom I learne in fiue of the *Cæsars*, to wit, in *Iulius*, *Augustus*, *Claudius*, *Vespasian*, and *Titus*, how good Princes are deified for their vertues, and smell sweetly in the nostrils of all posteritie. And in the other seaven (to wit) in *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, *Galba*, *Otho*, (*) *Vitellius*, and *Domitian*; How evill Princes are branded for their vices, and savour strongly in the nostrils of all succeeding ages. And when I am disposed to spend an houre merrily, I take along with me, either *Guzman* the *Spaniard*, or *Bocchas* the *Italian*, or old *Ieffrey Chawcer* the *English-man*, in whose Company I take much delight, being full of wit and merry Conceits, without offence. And one while I draw out of him his Summers-tale; by which I learne how an honest Farmer rewarded a cousening Fryar with a Legacie, and how he was (16) *perplexed about the division of it*. Sometimes his Plow-mans tale, wherein I see the pride, covetousnesse, hypocrisie, and dissimu-

lation

lation of the Abbots and Priors, Monkes and Fryars of former ages. Sometimes his Marchants-tale, by which I learne what inconveniences doe ensue when crooked age and youth, *January* and *May*, are linked in marriage together. Sometimes his Manciples-tale, where I behold the punishment due to tale-tellers and newes-mõgers, pictured to the life in *Phœbus* his Crow. Sometimes his pardoners tale, wherein I see the fruits and effects of covetousnesse, drunkennesse, dice, swearing and ryot. And sometimes his Nunnes Priests tale, by which I am taught to beware of (17) *flatterers*, smooth-tongu'd dissemblers, frothy Complementers, windie bladders, that vent out nothing els but smooth dissimulations, and hypocriticall delusions, that with their capring wits can delude the vnderstanding with as much dexteritie, as the jugling Mountebanke or deluding Mimicke can the outward sences, that can put a good dye vpon any hue, make blacke seeme to be white, & white to be blacke, fowle to be faire, and faire to be fowle, good to be bad, & bad to be good, having tongues like to (d) Pope *Alexander 6.* and Duke *Valentine his sonne*, running Counter alwayes to their thoughts, and are never more to be suspected than when they professe the greatest (e) *loue and familiaritie*. Sometimes I take along with me merry *Michael* and *Luscinius*, of whom I learne how one of our Country-men entertained his sonne at his returne from *Paris*. A Country-man having one onely sonne, sent him to *Paris*, *Vt imbibitis illic litteris, gloriam sibi & omni familiæ afferret*. That he might better his knowledge, and be a comfort to him & his whole family, who after he had spent some yeares there, at last returned home. His father being desirous to haue him put forth himselfe, & to giue the world some testimony of his learning; his answer ever was, that what was read and taught at *Paris*, was *extra captum vulgi*, out of the reach of vulgar Capacities. But it so happened that sit-

(17) *Tacitè magis et occultæ inimicitiæ timẽdæ sunt quàm indictæ et apertæ; nullæ enim magis sunt periculosæ insidiæ, quàm quæ latent in simulatione officij, aut in aliquo necessitudinis nomine.*
Cicero.

(d) The Pope *never did what he said.*
The Duke *never spoke what he meant.*
Guicciard.

(e) Fistula *dulce* canit volucrem dum decipit auceps.
Sicut finis *Oratoris*, est persuasisse *dictione*, medici curâsse *medicina*; Sic *adulatoris* finis, est *suaviloquio* decepisse.

ting at the Table one day with his Father, seeing but three egges in a dish, and fiue persons at the Table, which he thought to be a kinde of Solæcisme, he tooke that occasion to shew his Father some of his art, and demaunded of him, *An in tota hac vicinia sit aliquis, qui apertis argumentis docere queat, in tribus ovis quinq; contineri?* Whether there were any one in all that neighbourhood, that would vndertake to proue that in three egges there could be fiue contained? To whom his Father answered, it was a thing impossible. Marry, quoth the Sonne, I my selfe will vndertake to doe it, and thus I will make it to appeare; *Cui tria sunt ova, eidem sunt & duo, et qui habet tria et duo, habet quinq; : ergo qui habet tria ova habet quinq;*. What doe you say Father? Marry son, I say he lyes that sayes there are fiue egges in the dish. O but Father, you must answere *Syllogisticè*, and deny some proposition: and so I will sonne; *Tu duobus ovis vescere quæ ars tibi peperit, ergo tribus his quæ edidit gallina famem solabor.* And so that Controversie was decided. Anone after Cheese being brought to the Table, which the mouse had tasted of, his Father being angry that he should be served with mouse-eaten Cheese; the sonne to pacifie him, vndertooke to proue out of *Seneca*, that the mowse never touched it. And this was his Argument; (f) *Mus est syllaba, sed syllaba caseum non rodit, ergo mus caseum non rodit.* What doe you say Father? Marry (quoth he) I say he lyes that saith the mouse hath not touched this Cheese: the sonne endevouring to proue it; the Father told him, that the best way to proue it is to eate it, which he might well doe if the mouse had not beene there before; for other Cheese he was not like to haue. And so ended that Controversie. Anone after it fell out, that all sitting mute at the Table, the sonne willing to feede them with some discourse, told his Father that he had spent some houres in the study of Physiognomie, and that if his art fayled him

(f) Seneca epist. 48.

him not, the Gentleman that ſate by him had hornes on his head; the Gentleman frowning vpon him would needs know what he meant by hornes: to whom he anſwered, that I leaue to you to interpret, but that you haue ſo, I will proue it by the teſtimony of Mr. *Seneca*, who expreſſely ſaith; *Quod* (g) *non perdidiſti habes, ſed cornua non perdidiſti, ergo cornua habes.* The Gentleman moved ſomewhat with the argument of the yong man, in ſome choler roſe from the Table, and poſted home to his wife, and told her in plaine termes that one Mr. *Seneca* reports that he had hornes on his head, which he could not haue but ſhee muſt graft them there: Whereupon the good-woman repaires to the young man, to enquire after Mr. *Seneca*, and meeting with his Father, told him how ſhee had beene abuſed by his ſonne, who calling him vnto him, asked him what he meant by hornes; no harme, quoth he to the Gentlewoman, but onely vſed it as an Argument to try the Gentlemans patience. Well, well ſonne, I did not ſend you to *Paris* to learne to equivocate, or to be inſtructed in the fallacies, to abuſe my neighbours, and to make diviſion betweene me and them, but I am well enough ſerved, I finde now by experience, how great a fault it is to ſend our Children abroad, as ſoone as they are out of their (h) *ſwadling Clowts*, and ſo the Gentlewoman went home well ſatisfied. Such merry fellowes as theſe are fraught with ſuch merry tales, I take along with me ſometimes, and for want of theſe I finde every creature that I meete withall to afford me matter of diſcourſe. If I caſt mine eyes aboue me, I behold the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, reading vnto me excellent leſſons of moralitie. If beneath me, the birds, the beaſts, the trees, the plants, all creatures generally both ſenſitiue and vegetatiue to doe the like. All of them performing thoſe ſolemne rites to God and nature that was firſt enjoyned them, no way ſwarving from their firſt inſtitution.

g *Seneca epiſt.* 49.

(h) *Plato* inſtituit quòd *nemo ante quinquageſimum annum peregrinari debet*, cumq; redierint, in cætum aliorum ne admitterentur; niſi probati fuerint innoxij, et incorrupti. *Plato lib.* 12 *de legibus.* Et *Lycurgus* non modo cives ſuos vagari prohibuit, verùm etiam advenas in vrbe reſidentes abegit; illos, ne diverſos mores inveherẽt, hos, ne alicuius noxæ doctores forent.

on. The little (i) *Bee* and (18) *Emmet*, to reade vnto me excellent leſſons of good husbandrie, putting me in minde in Summer to provide for Winter; in youth to provide for age; the ſeaſons of the yeare to doe the like for divinitie: the Winter demonſtrating death and mortalitie, the Spring the Reſurrection, and the harveſt the day of Iudgement. So that I can truely ſay, I am never leſſe alone, than when I am alone. Theſe and the like contemplations, for want of other bookes, are my recreations. Sometimes I betake my ſelfe to the (k) *Olympian, Pythian, Nemæan*, and *Iſthmæan* Games; and as (l) *Iuno, Minerva*, and *Venus* contended for the golden Apple; ſo doe wee contend for triumph and victorie. Sometimes, the throwing of the ſtone is our ſport and paſtime, at which (m) *Miloes brawnie armes* alwayes carries away the palme, and the glory of the day. Sometimes, leaping is our exerciſe, at which he that can moſt handſomely riſe, and convey himſelfe furtheſt, be it at the Iumpe, the Almon, or the Beare-leape, carryes away the glorie of the day. Sometimes, running is our paſtime, at which he that can come firſt vnto the goale, be it by ſlight and cunning, as (n) *Hippomenes out-run Atalanta*, or by ſwift and nimble footing, as *Atalanta* out-run her affectionate followers, obtaines the glory of the day: Sometimes, wraſtling is our exerciſe, at which that (o) *Pancratiaſtes*, that can moſt handſomely caſt his *Antagoniſte* on his backe, be it with the *Corniſh* hugge, or *Norfolke* twitch, and trippet, obtaynes the victorie and glory of the day. Sometimes, Fencing is our delight, and exerciſe, at which he that can moſt warily defend himſelfe, and moſt skilfully offend his enemy, be it at the ſingle ſword, or ſword and dagger, ſingle rapier,

(i) Vulgariter Philoſophantes ex *minutorum animalculorum contemplatione*, non minus voluptatis, et ſcientiæ, quàm ex abditiſſimorum, arduorumq; perſcrutatione acquirunt.

(18) Vade ad *formicam*, ô piger, et diſce vias ejus (inquit Solomon.) Proverb 6. vnde Poeta.

Cui torpent ad cũcta manus, (ignave) magiſtram
Conſule formicam; monitorem conſule Echinum,
Hic Autumnales prædatur tergore fructus,
——Æſtivos illa.
Inq; hyemem memores amboquæſita reponunt:
Illa Cavum replet, hic hirti munimina tecti.

Thou ſluggard, if thou liſt to learne thy part;
Goe learne the Emmots, *and the* Vrchins *art:*
In Súmer *th'one, in* Autumne *th'other takes*
The ſeaſons fruits, and thence proviſion makes.
Each in his lodging laying vp a hord,
Againſt cold Winter, which doth nought afford.

Bartas.

Non ad mollitiem, nec blandimenta prophana,
Non ad delicias, nec ad otia ſtulta creavit
Nos pater omnipotens, ſed *ſudori* atq; labori
Perpetuò addixit, duro & damnavit aratro.

(k) *Olympia* certamina fuere *diſcus, cæſtus, curſus, ſaltus* & *paleſtra*; & fuerunt ſolenniter obſervata quolibet quinto anno, in honorem *Herculis*. (l) Vide Ovid. in Epiſt. quæ inſcribitur; *Oenone Paridi*. (m) *It is reported of* Milo, *that he ſlew a Bull at the* Olympicke Games, *with his bare hands; carried it a furlong; and eate it every bit.* (n) Hippomenes *overcame* Atalanta *by throwing out apples of gold which ſtaid her.*

(o) *Pancratiaſten* Græci eſſe volunt, qui eſt et luctator, et pugil.

rapier, or rapier and dagger, long ſtaffe, or two handed ſword, obtaines the glory of the day. Sometimes againe, in the merrie moneth of *May*, I betake my ſelfe to our Common-greene, where I behold *Tib* and *Tom*, *Ing* and *Iohn*, *Dicke* and *Doll*, *Will* and *Moll*, dauncing a meaſure about the Pole. Sometimes, riding is our exerciſe, in which in my youthfull dayes, I tooke much delight, and ſtill commend it as a manly and (19) *warlike exerciſe*; to ſee a young Gentleman at the age of fifteene, to be able with his skill & cunning, by his voyce, rod, and ſpurre, better to manage, and commaund the great *Bucephalus*, than the ſtrongeſt *Milo* with all his ſtrength: one while to ſee him make him (20) *tread, trot, and gallop the Ring*; anone after to ſee him make him gather vp roundly, to beare his head ſteadily, to runne a full Carrere ſwiftly, and to ſtop on a ſudden lightly; anone after, to ſee him make him advance, to yorke, to goe backe, and ſide-long, to turne on either hand, to gallop the gallop-galliard, to doe the Capriole, the Chambetta, and daunce the Curvetty. I haue thought an houre to paſſe in a moment, when I was young, wee thought it a kinde of ſolæciſme, and to ſavour of effeminacie, for a young Gentleman in the flouriſhing time of his age to creepe into a Coach, and to ſhrowd himſelfe there from winde and weather. Our delight was to out-braue the bluſtring *Boreas* vpon a great Horſe, to arme and prepare our ſelues to goe with *Mars* and *Bellona* into the field, was our ſport and paſtime; Coaches and Caroches we left vnto them for whom they were firſt invented, for Ladies and Gentlewomen, and decrepit, aged, and impotent people. The Sticklers at the *Olympicke games* never looke after them. When firſt I came vnto your Cities, after I had long diſcontinued them, and beheld a farre off the ſtreets barrocaded vp with Coaches, it much troubled me to thinke they ſhould abound with ſo many aged and impotent people,

(19) *Bene equitare, et equorum ſtudio detineri, eſt quidem vtile, et nobilitatis inſigne.*

Petrarcha.

(20) *One while he trottes the Ring;*
Another while bee doth him backward bring:
Then of all ſoure he makes him lightly bound;
And to each hand to manage tightly round:
To ſtoope, to ſtop, to Caper, and to ſwimme,
To daunce, to leape, to hold vp any limme.

Barnaby.

(p) Vespasian *set an impositi-on vpon vrine.*
Sueton: in Vespasian.
(q) *Tacitus lib. 3. cap. 5.*
(20) Hibernus advenit annus, et nubes nivéſq; dominantur; aut apros cane in obſtantes detruditplagas ruſticus, aut levé amité, seu furcâ contra *edates turdos ſuſpendit*, aut pavidum leporem, et advenam gruem laqueo captat; interdum etiam *ramos inutiles falce vefcas, et faliciores inſerit.* Ænæas Sylv.
(r) *The battaile of* Agincourt *was fought the* 20. *of* Octob. 1415. *and it was wonne by Archers; every Archer having a ſharpe ſtake placed before him.*
See the generall Hiſtory of *France* in *Charles* 6.
Hæc eſt perpetuo victoria digna triumpho.
The Bow and the black Bill were Hercules *weapons; and when as* Engliſh-men *fought with* Hercules *weapons, they fought victoriouſly (as one obſerues) with* Hercules *ſucceſſe:*
(s) Non is tam lædit, *liquidè* qui *dixerit*, odi,
Quàm qui *ſyncerum fingit amicitiam.*
Vitabis certè quem noveris eſſe nocentem;
At illum nunquam, qui tibi dixit, amo. Mimus.
Cùm *Alexãder* ab amico ſuo Parmenione ſuaviſſimè reprehenderetur, quòd in bellò nimiùm cõfidens eſſet; (Parmenio, inquit, amice mi) cõtra amicos meos fucatos, ſi potes, ſecurum prætta; ego enim eos, qui mihi ex profeſſo inimici ſunt, facilè cavebo.
Alcibiades, Ageſilaus, Pyrrhus, Antigonus, Lucullus, Iulius Cæſar, hac in re ſic fuerunt cauti, et conſulti, vt cum ſemper ab hoſte victoriam reportaviſſent, inter amicorum ſuorum manus, vitam cum morte commutarent.

ple; for in thoſe *Tartarian*-houſes I expected none other; but when I came nearer, and lookt into them, and ſaw youth to ſit where age & impotency were vſed to doe, and ſhop-keepers and Artizans of all kindes to haue vſurpt the roomes of Ladies and Gentlewomen, it troubled me a great deale more; So that oftentimes I wiſht in my choler, that thoſe tottering moveables were dealt withall as (p) *Veſpaſian dealt with vrine*, to the end to reduce them to their right courſe againe; and that the owners of them, injuriouſly vſurping the roomes of Ladies, might be deprived of *Cæſars* friendſhip, which (q) *Sylanus in Tacitus* interpreted to be a baniſhment: theſe and the like are our ſports and paſtimes. Sometimes againe, I betake my ſelfe to the brooks and rivers, and there beguile the poore harmeles fiſhes, preſenting vnto them food and nutriment, when indeede it is lined with ruine and deſtruction. Sometimes to *the*(20) *Woods and Groves to entrap the ſilly birds*, burying them aliue in the place where they ſought for ſuccour and reliefe. Sometimes to *planting, grafting, and enoculating*, for the benefit of poſteritie, that future ages might reade in the trees, in the hedges, and high-wayes, as in a ſtory, that ſuch a one had beene there. Sometimes I take my bow and arrowes, and in memoriall of the famous battaile of (r) *Agincourt*, and other noble archieuements, I ſhoot from this buſh to that, from this marke to that. Sometimes I take my bowles, and goe vnto our Common-greene, and there one while I foyle a Competitor vpon plaine and even ground with an vpright bowle; another while I take advantage of the hilly ground with a bias-bowle: yet ever out of theſe recreations I learne ſomething: by the hooke and baite, to beware of (s) *friendly foes, the greateſt enemies to a Common-wealth*; by the marke we ſhoote at, to be put in minde of the precepts of the Moraliſts; to begin at the end, to haue vertue ever in our intention, as a marke, with all our might and power

power to shoot at it, and as our arrowes in our quivers, to vnite our affections to the friends & favourers of it, and to disbandon them against the enemies and haters of it: by the ground which is shewed vs at the bowling exercise; to learne to doe nothing (t) *rashly and vnadvisedly*, but to know that he that bowles looseth his labour, if he bowle out of the way; as he that sailes, if he saile not by the Compasse, is subject to fall into *Scylla* and *Charybdis*; So it is in the whole course of our liues; if providence be not the guide, and God direct not our hand, *in* (*) *vaine doe we labour and toyle*, carke and care, pine and macerate our selues. So doe we recreate our selues in our Contemplations, and make good vse of our recreations. As for those (21) *Princely delights of hawking and hunting*, though I loue them not so well as some haue done, yet I loath them not so much as others haue done; though I delight not so much in hunting, as a Bishop of *Rochester* sometimes did, yet I am not so much out of loue with it as a Chauncelor of *Canterbury* sometime was; who in an Epistle to that reverend man, as (u) *sharply reproues him for it*, as if it had beene a sinne against the holy Ghost: for I must confesse, I haue been glad to heare a Huntsman discourse by what wiles the harmles Hare that never had any other Mistris than Nature, escaped her bloudy persecutors; how at the first, vpon the first vncowpling of the dogs, and the hearing of the horne, shee forsooke her fourme, being many furlongs off, and betooke her selfe vnto a River, and tooke vp her seate on the further side thereof, how

(t) Diù *deliberandum*, quod semel facendum est; *Seneca*. *Plutarchus* Sartorij vitam describens, insigniter illum laudat, adeò, quòd *ad consultandum tardus, ad suscipiendum gravis*, et promptus esset. Et Suetonius de Augusto Cæsare affirmat, quòd *amicitias neq; facilè admisit*, et *constantissimè constitutas tenuit*. Et cum *Agesilaus* vrgeretur, vt Thebanorum legatis respõderet; an nescitis (inquit) ô Thebani, quod ad rei magni cujusdam momenti deliberationem, melius nihil est, quàm de eo longo tempore cogitare?

(21) Venationi deditos fuisse olim *heroas, nobilésq; et ingenuos homines*, ad seminariũ omnium malorum, otiũ declinandum, docet *Seneca* in Hippol.

Lacædemonij secundum leges Lycurgi, aut militiæ, aut venationi vacabant; teste Plutarcho, in Lycurg. Et *Alexãder* magnus pomeridianum tempus venatu consumpsit. Solenne quoq; fuit optimis quibusq; Romanorum Imperatoribus, venandi studiũ, teste Lamprid vnde Poeta.

Sive voluptatem, seu vitæ commoda spectes,
Sollicitus magno est dignus amore *canis*.

(u) *Non decet (amantissime pater)* virum octogenarium, se talibus miscere, nedũ Episcopũ; quem nec etiam juventus a talibus excusaret. Legimus, quòd *Nicolaus Papa* Excommunicationis sententiam in Laufr dũ Episcopũ ferri censuit, quia venaticam artem exerceret. Ab exordio mundi percurrite sanctorũ patrum seriem; venite ad *Patriarchas*; ad Duces; ad Iudices; nullumq; eorum invenietis, venationi studiũ impendisse Piscatorem sanctum legi (dicit Hieronimus) venatorẽ non legi *Nimrod robustus venator* erat: Et *Esau* dum officiũ venationis exequutus, de primogenitura et paterna benedictione fraudatus; Si curratur ad inventionẽ artis venaticæ; ab ipsa inventione damnabilis. Hujus enim *artificij*, vel potius *maleficij*, legitur fuisse *gens Thebanus; fada parricidijs detestanda in castibus, insignis fraude, nota perjurijs*. Sanè aliud venationis genus nobis ex officio incumbit, in qua subjectorũ est salus. Dicit enim Dominus per prophetam *Ierem.* 16. Ecce *ego mitto venatores et venabuntur in omni monte* Prælati Ecclesiæ venãtur in omni monte, dum animas aberrantes ad Ecclesiam Christi rapiunt, in eminentiam scientiæ, et doctrinæ. Vtinam huic venationi velitis operam dare, longíq; temporis jacturam, quod in vanitates evanuit, fructu vitæ melioris, et eruditione populi, compensetis. *Petr Bles. Cantuariens: Canceli in epist. 56. ad Roffens. Episcop.*

from

from thence being driven, ſhee betooke her ſelfe to a long ſtone-wall, what worke ſhee there made, how ſhee paſt along the one ſide, and downe againe the other, and at laſt recovered the top of it, and tooke vp her ſeate in it a full yard from the ground, from thence being driven, how then ſhee betooke her ſelfe vnto the ſheepe; ſometimes ſheltring her ſelfe in one flocke, ſometimes in another; how from thence ſhee betooke her ſelfe to a hard ſtony way; how ſhee there doubled and redoubled, jumpt in and out, here and there, againe & againe, and how the young whelpes went gazing on, and overſhut her, whileſt the old ſtickers, *Ringwood* & *Rockwood* found out her ſleights; how in the whole courſe of this her progreſſe, ſhee ever tooke advantage of the winde and weather; in dry weather never comming neare the water, but keeping her ſelfe vpon the hilles, and in the woods, and in fowle weather never comming neare the woods and buſhie places, but keeping her ſelfe in the mooriſh ground; and how at laſt, finding no ſafetie or protection in any of thoſe places, ſhee betooke her ſelfe vnto the Conies in a Coni-greene, and there with them as one of them, tooke vp her lodging all night. Theſe things I can be content to heare and ſee ſometimes, but care not much to be a Maiſter of the Game; for I never held the pleaſure abroad could countervaile the annoyance that thoſe ravenous (*m*) *Harpeyes* put the owners to at home. And as for Hawking, I commend it in ſome, condemne it in others; in men of qualitie, whoſe eſtates will well ſupport it, I commend it as a generous & noble qualitie; but in men of meane ranke and (*n*) *religious men*, I condemne it with *Bleſenſis*, as an idle and fooliſh vanitie; for I haue ever thought it a kinde of madneſſe for ſuch men, to beſtow ten pounds in feathers, which at one blaſt might be blowne away, and to buy a momentary monethly pleaſure (if to ſee one bird torture another may be ſo called) with the (*) *labours and expence*

(*m*) *Harpyiæ* fuiſſe *Iouis Canes*, memorant Poetæ, ac rapaces dæmones, habētes aures vrſorum, corpora vulturum, ac faciem virginum.

(*n*) Hos eleganter taxat *Petrarcha*. Sæpè legere poſſumus *Homerum* Poetantem, & *Platonem* Philoſophantem, et *Tullium* Orantem, venantem (puto) non legimus.

Petrarch.

Non benè conveniunt cilicium, et accipiter; afflictio carnis et exercitatio voluptatis.

Bleſ.

(*) Hujus aucupij genus, ſumptus quos exigit ſuorum ſucceſſuum cōmoditate non redimit.

Bleſ. epiſt. 161.

pence of a whole yeare. Yet I muſt acknowledge, I haue in my youthfull dayes with (†) *Machabæus* beene guiltie of this vanitie, & haue beene as glad as ever I was to come from Schoole, to ſee a little Martin in the dead time of the yeare, when the Winter had put on her whiteſt coat, and the froſts had ſealed vp the Brookes and Rivers, to make her way through the midſt of a multitude of fowle-mouth'd ravenous Crows and Kites, which purſued her with more hydeous cryes and clamors, than did (*) *Coll* the dog, and *Malkin* the Maide, the Fox in the Apologue.

(†) Dicitur *Machabæus domeſticâſſe accipitres*, in aviũ capturam: ſed hâc vanitate omninò abjectâ; ſe bellis expoſuit, vt paternas leges erigeret, et ſuæ genti amiſſam libertatem reſtitueret. *ibid.*

(*) Chaucer *in his Nunnes Prieſts tale.*

When the Geeſe for feare flew over the trees,
And out of their hiues came the ſwarme of Bees.

And maugre all their oppoſitions pulled downe her prey, bigger than her ſelfe, being mounted aloft, ſteeple-high, downe to the ground. And to heare an Accipitrary relate againe, how he went forth in a cleare, calme, & Sun-ſhine Evening, about an houre before the Sunne did vſually maske himſelfe, vnto the River, where finding of a Mallard, he whiſtled off his Faulcon, and how ſhee flew from him as if ſhee would never haue turned head againe, yet preſently vpon a ſhoote came in, how then by degrees, by little and little, by flying about and about, ſhee mounted ſo high, vntill ſhee had leſſened her ſelfe to the view of the beholder, to the ſhape of a Pigeon or Partridge, and had made the height of the Moone the place of her flight, how preſently vpon the landing of the fowle, ſhee came downe like a ſtone and enewed it, and ſuddenly got vp againe, and ſuddenly vpon a ſecond landing came downe againe, and miſſing of it in the downecome, recovered it beyond expectation, to the admiration of the beholder at a long flight: And to heare him tell a third time, how he went forth early in a Winters morning, to the wooddy fields and

paſtures to flie the Cocke, where having by the little white feather in his tayle diſcovered him in a brake, he caſt of a taſtegentle, and how he never ceaſed in his circular motiõ, vntill he had recovered his place, how ſuddenly vpon the fluſhing of the Cocke he came downe, & miſſing of it in the downecome, what working there was on both ſides, how the Cocke mounted, as if he would haue pierced the skies; how the Hawke flew a contrary way, vntill he had made the winde his friend, how then by degrees he got vp, yet never offered to come in, vntill he had got the advantage of the higher ground, how then he made in, what ſpeed the Cocke made to ſaue himſelfe, & what haſty purſuit the Hawke made, and how after two long miles flight killed it, yet in killing of it killed himſelfe. Theſe diſcourſes I loue to heare, and can well be content to be an eye-witneſſe of the ſport, when my occaſions will permit, but to ſee one of theſe fæminine birds, who like ſome wiues of our time keepe vnder (z) the maſculine, I meane a ſwift winged Goſhawke, or high flying Iurkin, whoſe proper Game is the Pheaſant, Crane, or Bittorne, in the moneth of *Auguſt* to pull downe a little Partridge, or a pot-hunting-*Corydon*, or hungry Gentlemã if you will, to let ſlip a braſe or leaſe of long tayled ravenous Curres at a poore, little, harmeles Hare, and to kill her ſuddenly, without giving her law, or any advantage of ground, contrary to the lawes of the Forreſt, and the Decretalls of *Actæon*, made and agreed vpon at *Knaveſtocke* by a ſwearing Companie of mad-men, in the habit of wood-men, no, but by a ſober aſſembly of true wood-men indeede, the thirtith of *February* in the firſt yeare of Pope *Ione*: or when the earth hath put on her faireſt robes, and clothed her ſelfe in a habite as white as wooll, to trace & tracke her to her fourme, and againſt the lawes and (a) *Statutes of the Kingdome*, there to ſurpriſe and kill her ſuddenly. I muſt confeſſe, it hath often gone againſt my

(z) Accipitres, quædam degeneris naturæ corruptela, hoc habent, vt *fortior ſit in ijs ſexus mulebris, quam maſculinus.*

(a) No perſon *of what degree ſoeuer ſhall kill any Hare in the ſnow, vpon a penaltie to forfeite* 6 s. viij. d. *for euery Hare ſo killed.*
See the Statute of 14. H. 8.

my stomacke, and I could haue beene as well content with (b) *Augustus*, to haue seene one flie kill another: yet I must likewise confesse, I haue beene sometimes for societies sake, a spectator of such a Tragedie, but I beheld it with as much delight, as the Citizens of *Rome* did to see (c) *Nero* clap his hands, and in his Fidlers habit to sing the destruction of *Troy*, when their Citie was on fire; or as the poore oppressed people vnder (d) *Caligula* did, to see their names written in his two Bookes, which he called his sword and dagger; or as once I did to heare the night-bird sing, whose song ever prognosticates some dismall strange (e) *disaster and event*. To see a little Mastiue to make the strongest Bull that walkes vpon (f) *Taurus*, or the stoutest Bore in (g) *Arcadia* to stoope: to hunt the Fox, the Wolfe, the Tygre that liue vpō the spoyle, with the bloud of our Ewes & Lambs, our Cocks and Hennes, I take *much* (22) *delight*; but to heare the dolefull ditty of the death of the sportfull Hare, by the ravenous long-tayl'd Curres, I could never yet endure. Neither can I endure to heare of the expensiue delight of keeping of (*) *running horses*, it sounds more harsh in my eares than the croaking of a Toad, or *Iupiters* thundring musicke, or the howling of one of *Actaons* whelpes, or the cryes of *Charon* in a long pestilentiall sicknes. A strange vanitie that a horse naturally made for burthen, should be so indulgently lookt vnto, that two of his best servants that owne him shall not haue so much attendance when they are sicke, as this horse hath when he is well, and oftentimes to no other end & purpose, than to carry his Maister out of the Countrey. Thus haue I freely shewed you, both the pleasures and profit of the Countrey, and the motiues that induced me to leaue the Citie, and how wee doe weare out the long Summers day; as for the tedious Winters night, wee spend a great part of that before a fire; discoursing of our Country-affayres, and the best course

(b) Cum *Marcellus* nepos *Augusti*, sollicitè versaretur in avibus capiendis, quæsivit ab eo Virgil. vtrum mallet avē armari in avium prædationē, aut muscam in exterminationem muscarum: relata ad Avunculum quæstione, prælegit muscam, quæ a Neapoli abigeret muscas vniversas. *Vide* Petr. Bles. *in epist.* 61. *ad* R. Archiadiaconū, *qua dehortatur illum a vanitate aucupij; quia ratione officij, non avium, sed ovium curam susceperit.*

(c) *Sueton.* in *Nerone.*

(d) Gladius et pugio: *wherein were written the names of such as were appointed to dye.* Sueton in Calig.

(e) Si forsan *cantet ferali carmine bubo*;
Tristia venturæ docet infortunia pestis.

(f) Taurus *is a mountaine whereof* Caucasus *is a part.*

(g) Arcadia *is a Countrey of* Greece, *set in the middle of* Peloponēsus; *in which Country is the Fenne* Lerna, *where Hercules slew the monster* Hydra.

(22) *We take delight in hūting braue to kill the brisled Bore;*
That doth annoy with gastly dread the husbādman full sore.
The nimble heel'd Hart likewise in Candie *we doe chase,*
And eke the Buck with brāched horns, that trips ore plain apace.
At break of day, the fearefull Hare vnto her fourme to pricke,
While in the dewy, slabby groūd the prick of clay doth sticke.
And there to kill her suddenly against Actæons Lawes:
With Curs and ravenous long-tayld dogs, we leaue to Clownes (and bores.

(*) Imberbis iuvenis, tandē Custode remoto,
Gaudet *equis.* Horat.

course of husbandry to thriue by. In which discourse the Baily of our husbandry beares a great part, for he is vsually summoned every night before we sleepe to [illegible] an account how he hath bestowed himselfe th[illegible] Yet sometimes we breake out, and if we happe[illegible] tertaine a stranger that crossed the Seas of la[illegible] so bold as to enquire of him, what occu[illegible] happened in those parts from whence he came; [illegible] our Ships doe at Sea, and how the Havens are fort[illegible] and if he can but tell vs that the Ships are well rig[illegible] mand, the Havens well fortified, and the peo[illegible] (23) *vnitie amongst themselues*, he is a welcome g[illegible] wee eate and drinke merrily, and sleepe securely, for we know we are safe enough. And thus doe we weare out the tedious Winters night. And now I shall be so bo[illegible] as to entreate you to deale as freely with me as I have done with you, and to acquaint me what should be the motiues that should worke that contrarietie in our dispositions, to draw your affections to the Citie, & mine from it.

(23) Quod *de oppido* Poeta, *de statu* omni verè possumus dicere.

Si insula bene sint morati, pulchrè munitum arbitror: sin aliter, centuplex murus rebus servandis parùm est.

Plautus in Persa.

Vrban: Sir, as it is the nature of an ingenuous disposition to deale freely, so I shall deale with you. The motiues that first induced me thereunto were these. I was a (24) *younger brother*, the sonne of a Father that had many Children, who left me but little, but what I could worke out by my labours and endevours, so that I presently bethought my selfe, though I were young, yet I might be old, and having no more to maintaine me than was left me, I must either be a burthen to my friends, or to my Country, which before I would be, I resolved to vndergoe any labour, adventure vpon any exploit, though with the hazard of my life, that did not savour of baseneſſe, or vnworthineſſe: so that after long agitatiõ with my selfe to what course I should encline, having purposed to my selfe diverse. As first the life of a Souldier, to which in the beginning I did much incline,

(24) Younger brothers *are differenced by* Armoristes *in their armes, by Martlets, which haue little vse of their legs by reason of the shortnes of them; & therefore by the* Græcians *those birds are called* ἄποδες, quasi sine pedibus: *not because they want legs, but because they want the vse of them. And this difference is given to* younger brothers, *to put them in minde that having nothing, that is, Lands to relie vpon, they must raise themselues by the wings of vertue and merit.*

cline, when I caſt mine eyes vpon the(25) *liues of many fa-*
mous men that had raiſed themſelues out of the duſt by their
orth, to great honour and preferment. But
mine eyes vpon my ſelfe, and found in
ot able to endure ſtormes and
e, to weane my ſelfe, and to decline
) that reſolution. Then I thought
ut ſome vn-inhabited Country of the
I might haue elbow-roome enough, and
out of the reach of envie, and the troubles
olles of the world, but from this I was like-
wiſe diſſwaded, when I conſidered, that man ſequeſtred
into a wildernes, would in a ſhort time differ little from
a beaſt, and therefore reſolved rather to vndergoe any
labour in a Country, where I might haue the benefit of
ſocietie, than to enjoy the whole world with *Timon* a-
lone, then it came into my thoughts to ſhrowd my ſelfe
vnder the wings of ſome man of qualitie. In which
courſe likewiſe I was diſmaide, being that I haue often
heard that many yeares(b) *painefull labours and attendance*
here oftentimes requited with frownes, vpon a conceit of a
thing ill done, when indeede there was no ſuch matter. Then
I fell vpon the liberall Sciences, and did conſider, that
although I had not ſpent my time ſo well as I might
haue done, when I was a Grammarian, which time if I
might haue redeemed, I would haue gone as a pilgrime
to the holy Land vpon my bare feet, yet I might attaine
to ſo much knowledge in ſome laudable Science, that
when I grew in yeares, I might make my ſelfe capable
to procure ſomething to maintaine me withall; but my
ſelfe accuſing my ſelfe, that neglecting knowledge, the
meanes to preferment, when I was young, I was not fit
for it when I was olde, and that the (26) *opinion of igno-*
rance being once ſetled in the multitude, would hardly be re-
moved. So that I did decline that reſolution. Then it
came into my thoughts, to raiſe my ſelfe by inveigling
of

(25) *Tamerlanes Scytharum Imperator*, qui propter inauditam animi ferit atem, portentoſáſq; vires, orbis terror, & clades Orientis appellatus eſt: ex humili militiæ loco, per omnes honorum gradus, ad eximiam bellicæ virtutis opinionem, et deniq; ad ſummum imperium aſcendit; inſigni præſertim applaudentium militum ſtudio, quum adulatione quadam *Temir Cuthlur* appellaretur: quæ vox Tartaricè fortunatum ferrum ſignificat.
Paulus Iov. lib. 2. de bellica virtute viror. illuſtrium.

(b) Vt oculus parvâ feſtucâ turbatur: ita Magnatũ gratia, offenſiunculâ vel minimâ cadit; interdum etiam nullo crimine perditur.
Clitomen ſuæ nutricis filium, quia *Philippi* patris laudes magnificare voluiſſet, *Alexander* ſua manu interemit.
Si quid benefacias, levior plumâ eſt gratia.
Si quid peccarum eſt, plumbeas iras gerit.
Plautus.

(26) Concepta ſemel opinio, vix deponitur.
Cicero.

of ſome tender Orphane, whoſe portion would afford me ſome good meanes of liuelihood, or to beguile ſome young widdow, by ſuffering of ſuch who had moſt intereſt in her to ſhare with me in the purchaſe; which I had often heard was the ordinary meanes to effect and bring to paſſe ſuch a deſigne. But when I conſidered how ſuch marriages are directly repugnant to the law of (i) *Nature, to the law of God, to the Civill and Canon Lawes, and to the traditions of the Fathers of the primitiue Church*, and how in the ſight of God my offence would be ſo much the greater, than if I ſhould depriue him to whoſe Cuſtodie ſuch an Orphane ſhould be committed, of his perſonall poſſeſſions; for the acting whereof I ſhould endanger my life, by how much his fleſh and bloud is more neare and deare vnto him than his goods and Chattles, and how I ſhould ſubject my ſelfe to be deprived of my libertie, and to be fined with a greater fine than her eſtate perhaps would well ſatisfie, by a publicke Cenſure. And how ſuch marriages ſeldome proſper in the world, but as they are begun in treacherie and falſehood, ſo they are continued in ſtrife & contention, and end for the moſt part in beggery and miſery. I reſolved rather to ſpend all my dayes in penury and povertie, than to raiſe my ſelfe by ſuch vnlawfull treacherie and knavery. Then I bent my thoughts to follow ſome Doctor, Proctor, Atturney, or ſome Apprentiſe of the Law: whereby I might gaine ſo much knowledge, as to make my ſelfe able to execute the office of an Vnder-ſheriffe, Feodary, Eſcheator, or ſome other office of note in the Cõmon-wealth; vnto which courſe of life I did much encline, eſpecially, when I caſt mine eyes about me, and beheld ſome in that way, *Qui culmen aſcenderunt, priuſquam gradus inferiores tranſiluerant*; and from *Dupondij*, to be exalted aboue the *Lytæ* and *prolytæ*. But when I conſidered how contemptible thoſe kinde of people haue made themſelues by a-

buſing

(i) *Matrimonium factum ſine Conſenſu parentũ*, pugnat cum lege naturæ, cum lege *Moyſis*, cum doctrina *Apoſtolorũ*, cum legibus *Romanis*, cũ jure *Canonico*, et cum judicijs patrum, vt eruditè *Zanch.* lib. 4. de conjugio *Adam* & *Euæ*.

Inter decreta *Euchariſtiæ Papæ* invenimus; conjugia facta ſine Conſenſu, non eſſe conjugia, ſed adulteria, contubernia, aut fornicationes: et in Concilio *Lateranenſi* ſub *Innocent*: 3°. talia conjugia pronunciari illegitima.

buſing their places, and how difficult a thing it is for a pettifactor to rayſe himſelfe, without a great deale of jugling and falſe-dealing, I began to be diſcouraged from that courſe of life. Then I rayſed my thoughts ſo high as to thinke vpon the (k) *Philoſophers ſtone,* and ſo to aſpire ſpeedily vnto greatneſſe, but after that I had conſulted with ſome learned, aged Fathers, who told me that they had lived fortie yeares twice told, and that during all that time they never knew any to attaine vnto it, though many learned men had attempted it, I thought it would be deemed a vaine thing in me, being ignorant, after ſo many learned men to buſie my ſelfe in ſo endleſſe a worke; ſo that I quite and cleane baniſht that conceit out of my minde. Then I fell vpon divers projects, thinking thereby to raiſe my ſelfe, one while the Tipler and Ale-ſeller came into my thoughts, and how I might ſhare with him in his winnings, was my firſt project; anone after the Vintner came into my thoughts, and how I might ſhare with him was my ſecond project. A while after the Coachmaker came into my thoughts, and how I might ſhare with him, who had enhaunſed the prices of bootes and ſhooes in waſting of much Leather in ſuperfluous moveables, was my third project. Then I fell vpon the Tobacco-ſeller, and how I might ſhare with him in his gaines (who had oftentimes cauſed the ſtaple Commodities of our Nation to be exported, and in ſtead of them Drugges and *Indian*-weedes to be brought home againe) was my laſt project; with theſe and the like fond conceits and imaginations, did I flatter my ſelfe for a time, and made no doubt to effect what I went about, for that I conceived moſt of thoſe courſes of life to be *ex diametro,* repugnant to all honeſt trades and occupations. But when I called to minde what befell to divers perſons, whoſe memory ſavours ſtrong as yet in our noſtrilles; how ſome haue beene baniſht, and remaine as a ſcandall vp-

(k) Hunc lapidem, quidam ob excellentiam, vocârunt *Pandorum*, ſeu vniverſale & magnum dei donum; quia non modò corpus humanum validum in ſuo vigore conſervat; ſed etiam metalla imperfecta depurando, ad ſuum finem, quem natura ibi intendit, brevi temporis ſpatio inducit.

Johannes Rhenanus de lapide Philoſoph.

on record vnto all posteritie; how others haue beene degraded from the order of(27) *Chivalrie* for attempting to doe the like: and how such kind of people are(l) *odious in the sight of all good and well disposed persons.* I thought the worse of my selfe a whole yeare after for having once a thought in my minde to be a projector, and so quite and cleane did abandon all those foolish conceits and imaginations. Then it came into my thoughts to launch out into the depth to see what fish the Ocean would afford me, to apply my selfe vnto *Cæsars* Court, but when I consulted with (28) *Philip Commines who had beene beaten with stormes and tempests in the Seas,* & learnt of him how difficult a thing it is to ballance a ship so equally, that the winds and waues might haue no power over it; I resolved to giue them leaue to try conclusions in the Seas that loved to fish in troubled waters, but as for my selfe to spend my few dayes on the Sea (m) *shore in safetie and securitie.* At last I tooke into my consideration the life of a Citizen, and resolved with a constant and setled resolution to performe all the duties of a true and faithfull apprentise for the space of seaven yeares, projecting to my selfe, during that time to attaine to so much knowledge in some laudable mysterie, and gaine so much acquaintance, that when I grew into riper yeares I might gaine something, to keepe and maintaine me withall. Which resolution I constantly pursued, though I was often disswaded by my friends from it; they putting me in minde, that the concourse of Company, which did abound in the Citie would overthrow me. But this moved me not. Societie I considered was the very marrow and comfort of life; and that it was not Company, but indiscretion that could not make choyce of Companie that overthrew them; and therefore I desired to know all, to eate and drinke with such

(27) *After publication of his offence, his guilt spurres were hewen from his heeles, his sword taken from him, and broken, & every piece of his Armour beaten, bruised, and cast aside.*

In auncient time, the forme of degradation *of a Knight was after this manner; The Knight was led vp to a stage made in a Church, for that purpose; where 30. Priests sung such Psalmes as were vsed at funeralles, as though the Knight had beene dead; then was he despoyled of his Helmet, and Gauntlet, and by degrees of all his Armes both offensiue & defensiue; then was he proclaimed a Traytor, or otherwise, as the Case required; then was he tyed to a rope and throwne off the stage, with the greatest ignominie that might be; then was he dragd to the Altar, where grovcling vpon the ground, certaine Psalmes, full of curses were read vnto him.*

Innovatores, in repub: sunt odiosi.

(l) Mos inter *Locrenses* fuit; vt si quis novum quidpiã inducere vellet, collo in laqueum inserto, id facere cogatur, *Lonicerus.*

Plutarchus Græcum quendam sacerdotẽ, qui deæ Berecynthiæ modo quàm Cõsuetudo ferret alio sacrificâsset, in Campo Martio lapidibus obrui se quondã vidisse scribit; serunt etiam, quod eo tẽpore, quo M. Porcius Cõsulatu fũgebatur, excellens quidam *Musicus*, et omnibus instrumentis ludendi peritus, è Græcia, Romã veniebat, qui, quòd in cythara sua *chordis pluribus, quam consuetudine receptũ est*, vteretur; cytharâ totius populi consensu combustâ, proscriptus est. (28) Phil. Cõmines *tasted of both fortunes: in prosperitie, he gaue this Motto;* Qui fugit molam fugit farinam: *in adversitie this;* In profundũ navigavi, et mare me absorbuit (m) Stet quicunq; volet potens, *Aulæ* culmine lubrico; Me dulcis saturet quies. *Seneca in Thyeste.*

whom

whom I conceived to be honest, and for life and conversation without exception: but to make such my (n) *Companions onely whom I found to be honest, able, and discreete,* such as in cases of difficultie were able to direct and instruct me, and when any slips and errors were committed, were able and willing to rectifie and reforme me. And thus I haue shewed you the principall motiues that induced me to the Citie: other motiues there were, as when I called to minde the saying of *Nero*, when he forsooke his diademe and betooke himselfe to his Fidlers habit, (29) *(in which had the Romane State first invested him, it had beene happie)* which experience hath verified vnto me.

Τὸ τέχνιον πᾶσα γαῖα τρέφει.

An Artizan in any kinde,
In every Land will living finde.

Againe when I tooke into my consideration the inconveniences of the Country-life, which you so much magnifie: how many myles you travell to doe his Majestie service at the grand Assizes and Sessions, and vpon all other occasions, as often as his service shall require you, to your great charge and expence; whereas in the Citie, we goe no further than from our houses to our common Hall, confined within the precincts of our Cities. Againe, when I called to minde, what cares you vndergoe in plowing and sowing, in reaping and mowing, in breeding and rearing, in buying and selling, before you can reape the fruits of your labours. Whereas wee goe no further than the Markets within our walles, and in an instant reape the fruits of those labours, for which you haue taken so great care and paines: againe when I considered that the Citie is the place where all the Nobilitie and Gentrie of the Land receiue their education, where the Vniversities are seated, where the Lawes of the Kingdome are read and taught, and indeede the proper place in most parts of the Christian world,

(n) Cum quidam in foro sapientiã venalem exposuerit, emptoribus filum perlõgum dedit, jussitq; ne *stultis et dementibus* ejusce longitudinis spacio appropinquarent, sed cum *viris bonis atq; cordatis* potissimùm agerent consuetudinem.

Vide Apologum de *Carbonario et fullone*; quo ostenditur; pares cum paribus facilè congregari.

Noscitur ex socijs, qui non cognoscitur ex se.

Est amicitiarum, ac familiaritatum ferè omnium causa, nexúsq; *similitudo* quædam *morum*.

Diligens in amicitiarũ initijs adhibẽda est cautio; nam quisquis alterum amicorum cognoverit, alterum cõtinuò ex eodem dijudicet; adeò vt qui *cũ inscijs et improbis vivit*, eundẽ malum existimamus: contrà, qui *cum bonis et sapientibus versatur*, talis et ipse quoq; habetur.

Castil. lib. 2.

Carondas Cives suos à familiaritate et consuetudine perditorum lege prohibuit, actionémq; pravæ cõsuetudinis constituit; graviq; ejus delicti reis impositâ mulctâ licentiam coercuit.

Diod. Sic.

(29) Si fidibus tantùm audisset te Roma canentem,
Detestande Nero; non tanta incendia tectis,
Non cædes vidisset humo, nec funere natum
Materno insignem.

world, where the Nobilitie and Gentrie make their residence & abode. For although in these our parts your Country is honoured with the personall residence of many of the Peeres and Nobilitie of the Kingdome; in other parts of the Christian world it is not so, they leaue that as a forlorne Wildernesse to Boores and Peasants, whilest they in the Cities eate the fruits of their labours: it may be some few weekes they start out for their healths sake, or for pleasure, or in Vintage time to see their fruits seasonably gathered, & that being done, they seldome goe forth all the yeare after. Againe when I considered how in times of danger, we are more secure than you in the Country: if either a forraine enemy happen to invade vs, or any Civill discord arise betweene vs, having walles and bulwarkes to defend vs: whereas you lye exposed and open to danger. Againe when I considered how we out-strip you concerning the health of the best part of vs: whereas you are enforced vpon the Sabbath day to goe a myle or two to heare divine service, and two or three myles to heare a Lecture; wee haue divine service at our dores, and three or foure Lectures within a quarter of a myle. Againe when I considered how we haue divers other Lectures, Anatomie, Astronomy, Geometry, whereby we reape much good, which you haue not. Sometimes wee heare a learned Physitian reade vpon all the parts both Homogenean and Heterogenean of the dead Corps of a malefactor, one while of the head, shewing how from the (30) *braine the nerves haue their essence and being*, and that from thence a power to the eye is given to see; a power to tast to the tongue; to heare to the eare; to smell to the nostrill; and see him single out with his silver instrument the organes themselues, by which this power is so conveyed, and relating that when these organes are stopt or any way distempered, that the sence vnto which they haue relation is out of order. Anone shewing how admirably

(30) *Cerebrum non solùm nervorum sedes, et motuum artifex; sed et sapientiæ, memoriæ, et cogitationum est domicilium.*

mirably this speciall peece of the bodie of man is hedged in and enuironed: how next vnto it there is (31) *the Pia mater, a little thinne skinne which compasseth it about, how further off there is the Dura mater, a couering more firme and fleshie, how yet more remote, there is the Cranium, the scull it selfe.* Another while we heare him discourse of the (32) *Liuer, inquiring out in what part of the bodie it is seated, of what matter it is compoled, what office it beares in the Mistrion, from whence the veynes haue their essence & [illegible] is seated in the lower part of the stomach [illegible] Hypochondria* on the right side of the bodie, [illegible] nothing els but blood coagulated, of the form [illegible] of a semicircle, the one side standing out [illegible] the other side hollow: that the proper office of it is to assimilate the Chyle, & wateriſh matter wrought by the firſt Concoction into his owne nature, and similitude; and what part thereof is nutrimentiue, to send it away by her secret conveyances to all the rest of the vitall parts, but what is excrementitious and hurtfull, to send it another way to be cast out at the Common-sinke; another while we heare him relate where the heart is seated, of what forme it is, how it is severed from the naturall parts of the body, and from whence the arteries haue their originall & being; that the proper place of the heart is neare vnto the middle part of the breſt-plate, enclining to the left side; that it is in forme like vnto a (33) *Nut-kernell*, that it is severed from the naturall parts by the Diaphragma, which crosseth the breast, and that from the lower part thereof the great arterie, by which the vitall spirits are transferred to all the parts of the body, hath its originall and being: at other times we heare him discourse of the stomacke, of the spleene, of the longs, of the reynes and kidneyes, of the guts, and of all the rest of the parts of the bodie from the head to the foote. These things and many more are we taught out of these Lectures. Some-

(31) Pia mater est *membrana tenuissima*, proxim um & immediatũ cerebri velamen; *dura mater* est *membrana exterior*, super piam cranio alligatam, cerebrum cingens, & vndiq; muniens.

(32) *Epar* est *pars organica infimi ventris*, constans carne rubra, *sanguini* nuper *coagulato similissima*, in dextro hypochondrio sita, et sanguinis officina.

(33) Cor est pars principalis ventris medij, dura, densa, et solida carne constans; *figura Pyramidali, et nucipinea non dissimilis*: facultatis vitalis domicilium: quo vigente, vigẽt omnia, quo languente, languescunt, intereunte, intereunt.

times againe, we betake our ſelues to the Aſtronomie Lecture, where we learne how the Spheres are placed in degree one aboue another; and how one ſtarre differs from another in greatneſſe and glory. Sometimes againe to the Geometry Lecture, where we are taught the vſefull art of Surveying; how to meaſure out the circle of the Earth, to know what Compaſſe it beareth about, and what diſtance is betweene the Center and the Circumference. Sometimes to the Arithmeticke-Lecture, where we learne to better our knowledge in the caſting vp of our reckonings and accounts, by being taught the rules of Addition, of Subſtraction, of Multiplication, Diviſion, Reduction, and the golden-Rule. Sometimes to the Phyſicke & naturall Philoſophy-Lecture, where we learne the naturall cauſes of the foure ſeaſons of the yeare, of Summer and Winter, Spring and Autumne, of the winds and earth-quakes, of the Comets and Meteors, of thunder and lightning, hayle and ſnow, & how it commeth to paſſe that the (o) *Lightning ſhould kill the childe in the wombe, yet never hurt the mother*: how the Springs do mount to the tops of hils, and are more cold in Summer than Winter: how the (34) *Seas never exceede their bounds, though all the Chanels of the earth doe emptie themſelues into them*: how the Clouds compoſed of heavie materials, doe hang in the middle Region of the ayre; and why the earth is by many degrees more cold than the water. The naturall cauſes of theſe effects there we learne. Sometimes to the Muſicke Lecture, where I never come but admire, that out of the greateſt diſcords, ſhould ariſe the ſweeteſt harmony & concord, that a Baſe and Treble, Tenor and Counter-tenor, high and low, ſhould cauſe a *Diapaſon*. In theſe, I ſay, which doe better our beſt part, our knowledge and vnderſtanding, doe wee out-ſtrip and goe beyond you likewiſe; neither doe wee come ſhort of you in the exerciſes in which you glory ſo much, the exerciſes of the bodie, in which

(o) Incluſum loculis intactis ebibit aurum,
Aurum abit, at plagæ veſtigia nulla ſuperſunt.
Quin nitidum fugiens affiatu diſſipat enſem
Vaginâ incolumi, vinúmq; è vaſibus haurit
Integris.
Quin *teneram fœtum matris pragnantis in alvo*
Strangulat.
Dura reſiſtunt; ſorboſa fulmini tranſitum præbent.
Of the admirable effects of lightning, ſee *Bart.* in his ſecond dayes worke.

(34) *The reaſon hereof is well ſet forth by* Bartas *thus:*
——*The Sunne and windes withall,*
Sweeping the ſurface of the brinie ball,
Extract as much ſtill of her humors thin,
As weeping ayre, and waterish earth powres in.

which we take much delight, and at vacant times recreate our selues. Sometimes ringing is our sport and pastime, to run division vpon the bels, and to make them eccho out as many severall Changes as the prettie (p) *Nightingale doth when she is disposed to warble forth her severall notes and tunes*, we take delight. Sometimes dauncing is our exercise, which in my youthfull dayes, after I had past my servile yeares, and came to be mine owne man, I did much affect, and in dauncing of the *French* galliard, the *Spanish* paven, or *Scottish* ligge, I did often recreate my selfe. But when I grew into riper yeares I began to consider, that as to youth it was an ornament, so to (q) *age it was a blemish and a badge of lightnes*, and so did abandon that kinde of recreation. In vaulting likewise on the horse, being a recreation vsed in the Schooles, I tooke much delight, and haue often repented my selfe that I did not vse it more, for that I found it alwayes vsefull vnto me as often as I had occasion to take any long progresse into the Country; for when others haue stucke in their stirrops and could not get into their saddles without heaving on the one side, and holding on the other; I haue on a sudden mounted into it without the assistance or advātage of the ground or stirrop, and though crooked age, which tops the tallest Cedars, haue bereaved me of that strength and abilitie of bodie, which lustie youth did affoord vnto me; so that I cannot doe the *Pomadoes* with that agilitie as formerly I could, yet still I finde a difference betweene my selfe & others that never vsed that delight. *A Campus Martius*, Artillerie, and military yards likewise wee haue, whither sometimes I doe resort, and one while behold the *Pikemen* trayling and shouldering of their Pikes; another while the *Muskettiers* sloping of their Muskets, and by often observing of them, haue borrowed so much of their skill and cunning, that with a very little practise, I dare vndertake to lead on an Army

as

(p)——Nunc illa *graveur*, nunc crispat *acutum*;
Nunc *summos medijs*, *medios* nunc temperat *imis*
Ipsa *sonos*, variátq; vices, nemorísq; per altos
Secessus, arguta modos ciet ore canoro.
At breake of day in a delitious song,
She sets the Gamut *to an hundred young:*
And when as fit for higher notes shee sees them,
Then learnedly, she harder lessons giues them.
One while shee bearets the base: *anone the* tenor;
Anone the treble, *then the* Counter-tenor.
Bartas.

(q) Indecorum quidem et ridiculosum est, hominem videre ætate confectum, *capillis niveis, dentibus putridis*, aut omninò nullis, *plenum rugis, et sulcis, tripudiare & saltuare.*
Castil. lib. 2.

as well as he that had beene trained from his childhood vnder *Mars* in the field. *Cockpits, Beareg ardens, Tiltyards,* and *Theaters* likewiſe we haue neare vnto vs: and one while we goe vnto the Cockpit, where we behold two (35) *little Creatures ſo ſtoutly behaue themſelves in a ſingle Combate,* as never did *Æneas* and *Diomedes,* nor *Hector* and *Ajax* (whom *Homer* ſo highly commends for noble Duelliſts) play their parts, nor performe the ſame with greater naturall vigor and ſtrength: another while to the Beare-garden to ſee a *Moloſſus* one while to adventure vpon a Lyon of *Nemæa,* another while vpon a Bore of *Arcadia,* another while vpon a *Hydra* of *Lerna,* yea ſometimes vpon death it ſelfe, as couragiouſly as vpon ſafetie and ſecuritie,: the which as often as I behold eſpecially the skirmiſhes of the watchfull creatures, I cannot but admire the innated ſtrength which is in them, to ſee them when they haue received as many (r) *wounds as Cæſar did in the Senate-houſe,* then even then, when they lye gaſping for breath, by ſignes and tokens, by pecking and nodding, to ſhew ſignes of vnvanquiſhed ſpirits, and will rather dye than cry, or yeeld to a crowing and inſulting enemy. Sometimes wee betake our ſelues vnto *Cæſars* Court, where we beholde the luſtie lads of the *Olympicke* games, ſtickling for the palme, at Tilt, Tourney, and *Ioco di Canni,* and practiſing to hit an enemy in the eye by running at the Ring vpon ſteeds richly Coopariſed, & as ſerviceable as were the proud warlike ſteeds of (s) *Alexander,* (t) *Cæſar,* (u) *Nicomedes,* and the King of (x) *Scythia,* the which likewiſe as often as I beholde, eſpecially the warlike Tilting exerciſe, I cannot but thinke of the deplorable death of the *French* King, King *Henry* the ſecond, who at that time when he thought himſelfe moſt happie, and gaue himſelfe a new title which he never had before, *Le treſhenreux roy,* by reaſō of the marriage of the Lady *Elizabeth* his daughter to *Philip* King of *Spaine,* in honour whereof thoſe ſolemnities

(35) *The* Cocke *by ſome* Atmoriſts, *is called the* Knight of the birds, *becauſe he will rather repell daunger* by fight *than by* flight, *being alwayes prepared for battaile: having his combe for an helmet, his bill for a ſauchion, and as a compleat ſouldier, armed from head to foote, he hath his legges armed with ſpurres.*

(r) Cæſar received twentie-three wounds; *and in the receiving of all thoſe never vſed more words than theſe;* Et tu fili; *ſeeing* Brutus *to be one whoſe life he had ſaved at the battaile of* Pharſalia.
Sueton: *in* Cæſare.

(s) De *Bucephalo* dicitur, quòd neminē vnquam præter dominum vehere dignatus eſt: & quòd è duriſſimis certaminibus *Alexandrum* ſoſpitē extulit: quo mortuo, *Alexander* vrbem condidit, et in nominis ejus memoriam, *Bucephalum* nominavit.
Solinus in collectaneis rerum memorab.

(t) Equus *Cæſaris* nullum præter dominum dorſo vnquam recepit. *ibid.*

(u) Interfecto *Nicomede* rege; equus ejus vitam inediâ expulit.
Solinus.

(x) Cum regem *Scytharum* in ſingulari certamine interemptum adverſarius ejus victor ſpoliare vellet, ab equo ejus calcibus, morſúq; laniatus eſt. *Ibid.*

lemnities were vſed, after all ſports and delights were in a ſort ended, the Tilters diſmounted, and the ſpectators departed, was by the ſplinter of a Launce which *Mountgomery* broke vpon his Cuiraſſe, being then the Captaine of the Guard, and who runne againſt him by his owne Commaund, brought vnto his death. As for the Theaters, I ſeldome come there, vnleſſe I heare well of the Plot and Poet, that he hath lived at (y) *Pernaſſus*, converſed with the *Muſes* at (*) *Helicon*, and is able in a ſmooth, cleare, and well compoſed ſtyle to magnifie vertue, and in as harſh and rigide a ſtyle to ſuppreſſe her enemies, that can extract teares out of the Adamant, in preſenting *Iocaſta* ẏ poore diſtreſſed mother to the view of the beholder, (x) *diſtracted to ſee the vnnaturall Contention betweene her two Twinnes Eteocles and Polynices*: of ſuch paſſages when I vnderſtand, they haue my company; but when I heare them in ſtead thereof to ſend forth nothing els but idle, irreligious execrations, ſcurrilities, and obſcænities, ſuch as were not heard of in the times of *Seneca*, *Plautus*, and thoſe Socraticall Philoſophers, who for their witty Apophthegmes & inventions, haue deſerved the (36) *Lawrell*, then I am gone and come no more at them. Thus briefly haue I ſhewed you both the profits and the pleaſures of the Cities: and whereas you attribute much vnto the Country, as being the place where many Princes, Patriarkes, Prelates and Poets haue deſired to ſpend their dayes in: beleeue me Sir, I thinke there was more goodneſſe and integritie to be found there in the dayes of our fore-fathers, than there is in our dayes. For as for mine owne part, I could never finde any ſuch pleaſure there. Shadie groves, greene paſtures, and pleaſant ſtreames you haue in abundance, things that affoord content and delight to the eye and ſmelling, but what advantage they the vnderſtanding, the beſt part of man, that which enricheth and enobleth, that part muſt proceede from hea-

(y) Pernaſſus *is a hill in* Greece, *where the nine* Muſes *did dwell.*

(*) Helicon *is a hill of* Bæotia, *by* Thebes, *dedicated to* Apollo *and the Muſes.*

(x) Tu times illum, & ille te,
Ego vtrúmq; ſed pro vtróq;
Iocaſta de Eteocle et Polynice in tragædia.

Seneca in Thebaid.

In me arma ignéſq; vertite:
in me omnis ruat vnũ juvẽtus, civis, et hoſtis ſimul; hunc petite ventrem, qui dedit fratres viro; mea membra ſparſim ſpargite, ac divellite, ego vtrúmq; peperi.

——Let neither friend nor foe,
Refraine a whit his bloudie blade at this my wombe to throw.
This wombe, this wombe, wherein I bare theſe wilfull brethren here;
Begot by him that was my ſon and eke my weaded peere.

Seneca in Thebaid.

(36) Olim Poetæ poſt editum opus, ſicut Imperatores poſt victoriam triumphare, curru magnifico per vrbem duci, et laureâ, vt *communi dignitatis inſigni*, coronari ſolebant.

Æneas Sylvius.

ring,(a)*reading*, and conferring: and what can you heare there, but the vncertaine sound of the chirping of birds, the bleating of sheepe, or the dolefull tunes of Crowes or Kites, or an (b) *ignorant Corydon that never out-went the bounds of his Ship-walkes, in his Canting language talking of Rome, as of some forlorne, depopulated, pastorall Arcadia*, or (c) *Dametas Courting of Zelmane in so homely a straine, that it would make a man sicke to heare him*, or (d) *Basilius singing like a* (*) *Hawke*, or Night-bird in prayse of old age. With these things you may solace your selues, if you take pleasure in them, or what can you reade there? publicke Libraries you haue none, nor bookes or other(*)*delights, than what you finde in the woods, high-wayes, and hedge-rowes*, vnlesse you are beholding to vs for them, or with whom can you confer? certainly with few or none that can delight you, vnlesse you be well versed in the Art of Hawking and Hunting, & can endure to heare a huntsman discourse of (e)*Hares* killing of *Lyons*, of (f) *Goates* flying in the ayre, of *Fishes* having great woods in their bellies, of *Wormes* drawing Castles after them, of *Snailes* that went more swift than the winde, and threw downe trees with their hornes as they past, of (37)*a man that devoured fiue hundred sheepe at a bit*, of walls in (g) *Wales made vp of Kaus-bobbie Cannon-proofe*, and of the like incredible occurrences, common in the discourses of Huntsmen; with these things perhaps you may solace your selfe, if you take pleasure in them: but if you desire to converse with the *Muses*, you must repaire to the Citie; for that is the place certainly where they doe inhabite. Wherefore, *Seneca* in plaine termes tels them, they (h) *lye that say the businesses of the Cities are hinderances and impediments to*

(a) *Lectione* perficitur animus. *Alexander* ex *Homero* vtilitatem multam cepit: *Scipio* ex *Cyropædia Xenophontis*; et *Solinus Imperator Turcarum* ex *Cæsaris Commentarijs*; conspiciendũ est igitur vt ne simus similes militibus illis qui expugnatæ vrbis inter alia etiam pharmacopolium diripientes, pretiosa et delicata multa, quæ diversis pixidibus repererant, ingurgitabant: quibus illectis, venena tandẽ pro dulciarijs incautè devorantes, periêrunt. Nam boni libri lectores suos meliores dimittunt, mali verò pejores. *Bell. lib. 2.*

(b) Vrbem quam dicunt *Romam* (*Melibæ*) putavi
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem, quò sæpe solemus
Pastores ovium teneros depellere fœtus.

(c) *See the rude discourse of* Dametas *in the* Arcadia.

(d) *See in the 2. Book of the* Arcad: *the song of* Basilius *in prayse of old age.*

(*) Accipiter gemit non canit.

(e) Hic vbi se recreet *Romana* iuventa, nec vrbes,
Nec *Circi*, nec sunt *Amphitheatra* fori.

(e) Exiguum *leporem* vidi jugulâsse *leonem*;
Vidi *barbigeras* volitare per aëra *Capras*
In media vidi nube volare *Boves*.
Vidi *Balænam*, cujus crescebat malvo
Sylva ingens.
Vidi qui traheret turres & mænia *vermem*; Occurrit *testudo* mihi velocior Euris Pervertens *vlmos cornibus aërijs*.

(37) Vidi apud Æthiopes *hominem* qui gutture largus, *Quingentas* vno dente voravit *oves*.

(g) Vidi *compactis mænia caseolis* (h) Mentiuntur (inquit *Seneca*) qui sibi obstare ad studia liberalia turbam negotiorum videri volunt; vaco (mi *Lucili*) vaco, & vbicúnq; sum, meus sum.
Seneca ad *Lucil.* Epist. 62.

the

the studies and meditations of the Muses; for that a (i) *studious and working mind will draw Conclusions out of every thing in every place*: wheresoever I am (saith he) I am alwayes at leasure, whether in the Countrey or in the Citie, it is all one to me, I am the same man wheresoever I am. (k) *Ex eadem rosa apes suum mel, aranea suum fel sugit atq; venenum*, out of the same place that the spider sucks poyson, the Bee sucks honey; in the same place where the drone and sluggard perisheth, the industrious and laborious man thriveth and prospereth. *Socrates* concurres with *Seneca* in opinion: the Countrey, sayth he, for woods and groves, meadowes and pastures, fountaines and rivers, fowles & fishes, Corne and fruit, oxen and sheepe, and generally for all sensitiue & vegetatiue Creatures, but the City for reasonable Creatures, for old men and matrons, young men and maidens is to be preferred. And *Aristotle* in his first booke of liuing Creatures implicitly agrees with them, where he darkely, but sharply condemneth the solitarie Country life; the (l) *birds* (saith he) *that flie alone, and the beasts that walke alone, are of all others most devouring*: the man that liues alone, he compareth to these birds and beasts: wherefore then you should preferre the solitary Country, I know not, vnlesse it be in this respect, that it vndoes what the Citie hath done; it makes him to be a rude and miserable Creature, whom the Citie had before made to be ζῶον πολιτικὸν, a (m) *milde and sociable Creature*.

Rustic. Sir, you haue with Eagles eyes pryed into our Country, and searcht out the discommodities of it. I pray you now giue me leaue to expostulate a little with you, and to crave an answere to two or three questions, which I shall moue vnto you. First, whether the Commodities of your Cities are not equally ballanced with discommodities? Whether flatterers, whisperers, vndermining-pioners, and fraudulent ministers, doe not

(i) Sapiens et ludendo, et seriò discet; *Socrates jocans, militans, obambulans, convivans, philosophabatur*; et quidem nihil fæliciùs discitur, quam quod inter studiosos ludẽdo, et aliud quasi agendo discitur.

(k) In statu regio, *Davidus* bonus erat; *Saulus* malus: in statu prophetico, *Daniel* bonus, *Balæus* malus; inter pastores *Abelus* bonus, *Abimelechus* malus; inter viduas, *Iuditha* bona, *Isabella* mala; inter opulentos, *Iobus* bonus, *Nabalus* malus; inter Apostolos, *Petrus* bonus, *Iudas* malus.

(l) *Aves solitariæ* sunt avium rapacissimæ: bestiæ *Solivagæ* sunt bestiarum ferocissimæ; quibus omnibus natura latibula, tristémq; atq; horridã vitam dedit.
Arist. lib. 1. de hist. animal.

(m) Quid magis *sociale* quàm homo? profectò neq; apes, neq; form cæ, neq; grues, neq; gregariũ aliud animal.
Arist. lib. 1. polit. cap. 2.

flouriſh, and proſper there: or whether there is any ill propertie in any of the wilde beaſts of the Countrey, that is not to be found in the (38) *tame beaſts*, ſuch as beare the ſhape of reaſonable men in the (n) *Cities?* whether there be not ſome as cruell as the Tyger; others as proud as the Horſe; ſome as greedie as the Wolfe; others as deceitfull as the Fox; ſome as biting as the Dog; others as ſcurrilous as the Ape; ſome as wanton as the Goat; others as vncleane as the Sow? Whether there are not furious *Centaures*, pernicious *Chimæraes*, raging *Satyres*, filthy *Harpies*, wicked *Syrens*, deteſtable *Oſtriches*, devouring *Gryphins*, and greedie *Dragons?* In more plaine termes, whether Sycophants, Cheaters, rogues, vagabonds, and the worſt of men, doe not inhabite and dwell amongſt you?

(38) Rogatus *Diogenes* quæ pernicioſiſſima è morderet bellua; ex feris inquit, *obtrectator*, ex cicuribus *adulator*.

Diog. Laert. in Diog.

(n) *Vrbes* humanarum cladium, et queritarum hominum conſepta miſeranda, dixit *Solon*.

Vrban: Sir, I muſt acknowledge it is with vs, as with the pureſt mettall, the choyceſt garden, the fayreſt field, and the ſoundeſt bodie; as the pureſt (*) gold is not without ſome droſſe, the choyceſt garden not without ſome weeds, the fayreſt field not without ſome thornes, and the ſoundeſt body not without ſome ill humors: So it is with vs, our Cities are not without ſome ill members; Sycophants wee haue in them as well as in the Courts and in your Country, but every childe can diſcover them by their baſe inſinuation; for there cannot a young Gentleman haue a patrimony befall him, but they fawne vpon him, and adore no other god for the preſent; whatſoever he ſaith, they admire, and with elevation of eyes and hands cry, (*) *Vox dei non hominis*; whatſoever he doth they applaud with an *opus plus quã hominum*, they deifie the (o) *wombe that bare him, and the paps that gaue him ſucke*; and proteſt that never woman bare ſo perfect a Creature; all their ſtudie is to (39) *winde themſelues into his boſome*, to finde out his diſpoſition, and to ſympathiſe with his affections; if he be given to women, they will maintaine it is an Epidemicall diſeaſe, the

(*) Il n'a choſe ſi belle quel, N' ait aſcun vic' en el.

(*) Pælix illa dies, torúmq; canenda per orbem,
Quæ tibi vitales cùm primũ truderit boras.

(o) Fortunata puto fœcundæ viſcera matris,
Cui tam divino licuit ſoboleſcere partu.

(39) *Aſſentatores ab aſſentiendo dicti*, quòd eorum conſilia in id ſolùm intendant, ſecundum *Terentij* illud
Ais, aio, negas, nego; Adverſum quos meritò & dentes acuunt, et gladios ſtringũt *Satyrici* ſcriptores.

the Common-roade, the generall case of all the world, a tricke of youth, a naturall infirmitie; vnto which the most (p) *noble spirits haue beene subject*, if he be given to (q) *Wine, they magnifie the grape abone all the fruits which grow vpon the ground*, commend him for a Ioviall boy, a merry grig, a Companion for a Prince; and one who is never angry but when any one drawes his purse in his Company: if he be given to brawling and quarrelling, they will commend him for a man of spirit, a tryd man, one who hath often Encountred his enemy in the field, and hath put him to the worse: whereas in truth he never drew his sword in anger but once, and that was at a dog, when as the owner came forth with a Cudgell, and beare him handsomely, and made him put it vp againe: if he be Musicall, and can beare a part in a Consort, though never so meanely, they will preferre him before *Tomkins* the Organist, and *Dowland* the Lutenist, and will not sticke to say, that (r) *Pan and Arion will not touch their tooles in his presence*: if he haue but the least skill in limming & paynting, yet they will preferre him before *Apelles*, and will maintaine, that had he lived at that time when *Apelles* paynted out one part of *Venus* so to the life, that no man after him durst adventure to perfit his worke, that he would haue gone as farre beyond *Apelles* in paynting of what he left vnperfitted, as *Apelles* did beyond all the paynters of his time. So doe these men (* *of whom I wish all men to beware*) lull these young novices asleepe, and lead them hud-winkt to destruction, who never know where they are vntill adversitie hath opened their eyes. *Guzmans* and *Picaroes* likewise we haue many, or in our English phrase Cheaters, whose study is to beguile young & raw novices at their first arrivall in our Cities; a fraternitie that complaine of nothing more than nature, that she hath denied them those gifts which she hath given to many others, to finde out the many sleights and tricks which are vsed at play

(p) An scelus esse putas? crede, est opus Hercule dignum.

(q) Comperio vinum sueco jucundius omni.

(r) Pan silet, et cytharam refugit *Lesbous Arion*.

(*) Omnes *Gnathones, scortatores, palpatores, aleatores, Thersitas, Philoxenos*, et ejusmodi nugandi artifices, homunculorúmq; purtenta, qui gregatim solent in benè nũmatos irruere; quos rectè fures temporis dixerimus, procul, ô procul fugiant adolescentes!

and gaming; that admire (40) *Chests* and (*) *Irish, as deepe mysteries, into which their shallow wits cannot dive:* Games they say, invented at first for great personages, whose thoughts are aspiring; as for themselues they looke not after the surprisall of Kings and Queenes, little Pawnes are their play-fellowes; their thoughts are bent onely vpon plaine Country recreations, *Novum*, Passage, or the like, and they trade in no other merchandise, than in plaine bar *quater-troys*, cuts and fullomes. In these little bones doe they finde the sweetest marrow, and in these harmeles sports doe they most delight. Others there are of the same kinde, who run a greater adventure than the former, who like their great Lord & Maister, can transforme themselues into any shape, to bring to passe their mischivous designes and purposes. Sometimes in the similitude of innocencie, being clad all in white, in the habit of a Porter, will adventure vpon any Fortresse, play fast and loose vpon any Locke, breake open any dore with as much boldnesse as the lawfull owner & possessor can doe, take what serues their turne, make all fast againe, and at noone day when the Sunne is at the highest, out-brave the multitude with their adventures vpon their backes. Others in the similitude of a furie, all blacke, being clad in the habit of *Vulcan*, will performe the like feats of activitie with such dexteritie, that had they lived in the dayes of the *Spanish Picaroe*, he would haue beene a meere novice vnto them: many of these tame beasts, which beare the shape of reasonable men, we haue amongst vs. And women we haue of all sorts both good and bad, whom we doe value according to their worth and merit; those which are good we doe in a sort adore, for their puritie, and chastitie; and study how to doe them service; those which are not, we spurne, and spit, and hisse at as they passe, and sometimes crowne them with vrine; sometimes with a more base excrement, and studie how to ease our selues of them,

(40) *The game at* Chests *is held a Princely game, because therein are contained all the stratagems of warre, or plots of civill state. A game wherein* William *the* Conqueror *tooke much delight, and lost whole Lordships in* Lincolneshire *at it.* Leighe.

See in Chawcers *dreame, who was the first inventor of* Chests.

(*) *To play at* Irish *doth not befit the female sex, lest thereby they learne to beare a man more than they should.*

Gwillam.

Attalus Asiacus, si gentilium historijs creditur, hanc ludēdi lasciviam, scilicèt, vsum *alearum* dicitur invenisse: cui meritò ab antiquis hoc Encomium tribuitur; *vt quantò quisq; in eo sit doctior, tantò nequior*; nam mendaciorum, et perjuriorum mater est *alea*.

Iohannes Salisb. lib. 1. de nugis Curialis

Ars *aleatoria*, tota infamis, et omnium gentium legibus interdicta; Cobilon Lacedæmonius, societatis causa Corinthum legatus missus, cùm duces et seniores Corinthiorum invenisset in *alea* ludentes, infecto negotio redijt, dicens nolle se Spartanorum gloriam hac infamiâ maculare, vt dicerentur cum *aleatoribus* societatem contraxisse.

Corn: Agrippa

them, every childe can diſtinguiſh them by their (f) *companions*, habit, and attire, for if they be honeſt, they are clad in the habit of modeſtie and civilitie, and weare their Cloths to cover their nakednesse: if they be otherwiſe, they are clad in a ſtrange, diſguiſed, anticke habit, and weare their Cloths doe diſcover it, being as looſe within as without, to whom our common ſort of people will allow no other father than *Proteus*, no other mother than the (t) *Moone*, no other name than *Changeling*; vnto whom our wiſer ſort doe aſcribe the invention of all new-fangled (u) *faſhions which are vſed in our Cities*, and ſay it is hæreditary, and entayled vpon them from the *Stewes*, who were vſed to change their faſhions as often as *Proteus* did his ſhape, and to no other end & purpoſe, than malefactors do their names, becauſe they would not be diſcovered to be what in truth they are, Mountebanks, Hermaphrodites, anticks, bawds, ſtrumpets, or any thing that is repugnant to modeſtie and civilitie. Ordinaries likewiſe we haue, but wee ſeldome come there; for we account it a diſparagement for any man that hath an habitation to be ſeene in them, when I was young I lookt into them, and if I liked the Companie, I adventured ſome ſmall ſumme of money with them, but never at any time could gaine any thing there, yet never could know who gained by me, for every man complained of loſſe; at length vpon diligent ſearch, we found out the theeſe, there was a *Helno* ſtood by vs, that ſaid nothing, yet by little and little robd vs all: which when I found, I reſolved never to come there againe; and ſo ſince I haue beene as good as my word. Theſe things haue I ſhewed you in anſwer to your queſtion, that you may be aſſured that there is no perfect bodie, but hath ſome ill humors in it.

Ruſtic. Sir, you haue given me good ſatisfaction to my firſt queſtion; I pray let me aske you a queſtion or two more, and ſo I will take my leaue for this time.

How

(f) Meretrices, *covgarones*, et gigantes in ſatellitium libenter aſſumunt, et tales ſibi gaudẽt eſſe ante ambulones, et ſpectatores, quorũ virtus eſt in humeris, in lacertis, in tergo, et in cauda. Theologos, Medicos, Philoſophos, et generaliter omnes cujuſcũnq; generis quorum vigor eſt in capite, odio habent & contemnunt

Petrarch.

(t) Vide *Luna* preces in Apologo.

Lunam matrem orâſſe fertur, vt convenientem ſibi veſtem faceret: cui illa reſpondebat; quòd præſtare nequeat; quia modò globoſa, modò in orbem dimidiati modò in circuitu extenuari, modò evaneſcere ſolet.

(u) Vnde hæc habituum indies mira ſimul ac ridenda varietas, nunc pedes contegens, nunc pudenda nudans veſtis, nunc terram tergentes, nunc cubitum arctantes manicæ, nunc mammillas conterens, nunc ſub Inguine fluens Zona? niſi *ab impudicis*; quomodò enim fieri poteſt vt vivendi tenor idem maneat his, quæ non ſe virtuti, aut ſuo judicio, ſed alienæ dementiæ ſeſtra ſunt? Denique quæ patrios mores ſic abjecunt, vt nil niſi peregrinum venerantur, et toties mutãtur, quoties aliquid occurrerit quod mirentur.

Petrarch.

How commeth it to paſſe, that the courſe of life you leade, being attended with ſo many Commodities, is had in ſuch contempt by the *Neapolitan*-Gentry, & was ſo much neglected by the old *Romanes*.

Vrban: I cannot giue you a more ſatisfactory anſwer than by asking you the like queſtion, How commeth it to paſſe, that the *Neapolitan*-Gentry are ſo poore and needie, and the *Venetian*-Gentry are ſo rich & wealthy? The reaſon is eaſily given; the *Venetians* follow and affect our courſe of life, and are induſtrious and painfull, and the *Neapolitans* contemne it, and are hautie and idle. I muſt confeſſe, it hath beene a continued cuſtome amongſt the *Neapolitans*, that they will rather marry their daughters to the ſonnes of Gentlemen, be they never ſo poore and needy, than to the ſole heires of Marchants, be they never ſo rich and wealthy; for they haue a fooliſh conceit, and an opinion amongſt them, contrary to the opinion of all (41) *wiſe-men*, that if a Gentleman of their Country doe marry with the daughter of a Marchant, or a Plebeian, the iſſue begotten betweene them, are but Gentlemen of the halfe bloud; but the *Venetians* are of a cleane contrary opinion, & ſo are the *Genowayes*, who hold it an additament and encreaſe of honour, to deale in the way of Marchandiſe; to liue in *Venice*, and not to doe as the *Venetians* doe, they hold it as diſhonourable, as it was for the *Lacedæmonians* to deriue themſelues from the loynes of *Hercules*, and not endevour to be like vnto *Hercules*: *Valentinian*, *Agathocles*, *Telephantes*, and *Hyperbolus*, they haue in perpetuall remembrance: who being Periſactors themſelues, or the ſonnes of them, became to be Emperours and Kings, and to goverme the people. (*) Vertue they account the chiefeſt Nobilitie; and ſuppoſe it never caſts a better luſtre, than when it ſhewes it ſelfe in men profeſſing the trade of Marchandizing: to deſcend from the loynes of noble progenitors with *Catiline*, and to be a villaine;

(41) *Learned* Armoriſts make no doubt, if a Gentleman of a coate-armour, marry with a woman that hath none, and hath iſſue by her, that the iſſue is an abſolute Gentleman, and may giue his Fathers coate: yea they hold, if a Gentleman by birth marry with a man that hath no coate-armour, & hath iſſue a ſonne, by the curteſie of armes the ſonne may beare her coate-armour during his life with a difference Cinquefoyle.

villaine; or with *Hermodius* to pull an ancient house vpon his head, and to be the last of it; or with *Saluſt* to relye wholy vpon dead mens bones, they accounted the greateſt (w) *diſhonour*: but by good husbandry, and thriftie courſe of (42) *Trading to raiſe themſelues from meane eſtates*, and from Gentlemen of low degree, to be potent and mightie, (as *Cato* did in another courſe of life from a poore Cottage in *Tuſcanie*;) that they held the chiefeſt glory. So that in the flouriſhing ſtate of *Venice*, there is not a Gentleman of note or qualitie, but hath a ſtocke going in the trade of Marchandizing. It is true, I muſt confeſſe, there was a Law amongſt the old *Romanes*, which did prohibit Senators and men in authoritie, to deale by way of Trade; but the reaſon of that was not becauſe it was a diſparagement for a great man to Trade, but becauſe Senators were ſet apart for another end and purpoſe; that is, to looke to the affaires of the Common-wealth; and therefore they were not to buſie themſelues about private matters. It is true likewiſe, it is a received opinion amongſt the learned *Armoriſts* and *Heralds*, *Mercatura non competit viro generoſo*, that it is a baſe & diſhonorable part for any man of qualitie to deale by way of Marchandizing, but you muſt vnderſtand it to be meant of Merchandizing in poore and meane Commodities, as in monopolizing of (x) *Pinnes, Cards, and Glaſſes, or ſuch poore Commodities*, not beſeeming a Gentleman, or in exporting the bullion of the Kingdome, the iron and lead, the hydes and skins, the Corne and graine, and in ſtead of them to bring home leaues, Indian-weeds, feathers, drugs, and ſpices, Oranges and Lemmons, and the juice of grapes, and things of the like nature, rather hurtfull than profitable to the Common-wealth: but to adventure for the gold of *Ophyr*, and the vſefull and neceſſary Commodities of (y) *Cyprus*, and (z) *Perſia* hath beene an imployment not vnworthy the adventure of (43) *Drake*, of *Eroſbuſher*,

(w) Non tam infamis eſſet Catilina, niſi tam famoſâ familiâ prognatus eſſet.
Petrarch.

(42) Apud veteres tantæ æſtimationis fuit olim *mercatura*, vt ad hanc exercendam contulerũt ſe philoſophi, nec infimæ tantùm claſſis, ſed primæ, et qui inter eos fuerunt celeberrimi: certiſſimũ enim eſt, *Solonem* illum, qui ob ſingularem prudentiam inter 7 ſapientes numerabatur, hanc exercuiſſe.
Leand.

(x) *Mercatura ſi tenuis, ſordida putanda eſt, ſi magna, & copioſa, multa vndiq; neceſſaria reipub: apportans, non eſt vituperanda.*
Cicero, lib. 1. offic. ſub titulo: quæ artes & qui quæſtus ſordidi, qui cõtrà liberales.

(y) Cyprus *abounds with wood to make Maſts, and with Flax and Pitch to make ſailes.*
Ortellius.

(z) Perſia *abounds with iron and ſteele to make Armour.*

(43) Sir Francis Deake *in the yeare 1572. ſurpriſed* Nombre de Dios, *and betweene* Panama *and it, tooke two Companies of Mules laden with gold and ſilver: in the yeare 1578. He tooke the* Cagafuego, *furniſhed with rich treaſure.*
Candiſh *in the yeare 1587. tooke the great ſhip called Santa* Anna, *of the burthen of 700. tunnes, fraught with exceeding rich Marchandiſe.*

buſher, of *Candiſh*, and the noble ſpirits of former times. So that without doubt *Pegins* was in the right, when he affirmed, that it may well ſtand with the degree of Knighthood, to deale in the way of trade and Marchandizing.

Ruſtic. Sir, let me craue your anſwer to one queſtion more, and ſo I will take my leave of you. I haue often heard, that if a Gentleman by diſcent take vpon him the profeſſion of a Mechanicke, his Gentilitie is quite and cleane extinguiſhed.

Vrban: You haue heard in your time likewiſe of Goates flying in the ayre, of ſnailes going faſter than the winde, and throwing downe Steeples with their hornes as they paſt; but did you ever heare any, that were verſed in the Law of Armes, ſeriouſly affirme it. The beſt Gentlemen in *Venice*, I am ſure, and amongſt the *Genowayes*, are the beſt Marchants, and in moſt of the flouriſhing Kingdomes where I haue had to doe. The (44) *Nobilitie haue thought it no diſparagement to vſe the Trade of Marchandizing.* Gentry is not eaſily loſt, it is a Character which nothing can deface, but miſdemeanors and abuſes; indeede it is true, if during the time of our ſervile yeares, we waſtfully and riotouſly conſume the goods of our Maiſters, or when wee come to be Agents for our ſelues, we careleſly neglect to pay our bils of Exchange, we looſe our credit and reputation, which we account our beſt Gentry: the Acts and (45) Armes of our Auncеſtors we extoll and magnifie, but relie vpon our owne endevours, as vpon the pillars vpon which our thoughts are fixed, to raiſe ſome trophies for the benefit of poſteritie.

Ruſtic. Alas; What Trophies can you raiſe for the benefit of poſteritie out of mechanicall trades and occupations, if you had beene ſo happie as to haue betaken your ſelues to the ſtudie of the liberall Sciences, you might haue had good encouragement to haue left ſome

(44) *Pertinax Auguſtus* non aliter quàm privatus, mercaturam exercuit; idem traditur de *Rodulpho Bohemiæ* rege, & de *Laurentio* medices reipub: Florentinæ Principe.

Apud *Græcos*, nec *Græcos* ſolùm, ſed apud omniũ nationum populos mercatura fuit maximè in pretio, et quò celebriores et humaniores fuere populi, apud eos magis fuit *negotiatio* frequentata; et hi maximè barbariæ fuere notati, apud quos *Mercatores* non erant admiſſi.

Leandr.

(45) Armes, *ſo called, becauſe that in auncient time they were painted vpon the ſhields, helmets, and armours of the bearers.*

ſome memorials behinde you. For I haue heard from the Heralds, *Nulli docto, nulli in ſcientijs liberalibus excellenti, honoris inſignia ſunt deneganda,* to men deſerving in the liberall Sciences, Enſignes of honour cannot be denyed: but it is a hard thing in the courſe which you are in to deſerue any thing worthy of memory.

Vrban: No; Admit we ſhould performe ſome of *Hercules* labours; admit with *Iaſon* we ſhould fetch the golden-fleece from *Colchos*; or bring home the *Spaniſh*-fleete fraught with gold and ſilver from the *Indies*. Admit with *Titus Manlius* we overcome an enemy to King and State in a Duell, and take his Chaine from him; and thereby purchaſe to our ſelues the title of *Torquatus*, and (a) *Equites aurati*: Admit with (46) *Frobuſher*, or with that valourous, adventrous Gentleman Captaine *Iames*, we ſhould launch into the ycie Seas and approach the *Articke pole*, to diſcover a Northweſt paſſage to *Iapan*; or with *Columbus* diſcover ſome *terra incognita*, full fraught with mines of gold and ſilver: Admit we ſhould build Colledges, Hoſpitals, Almeſ-houſes, erect or amend the decayed walles of a Citie; repayre high-wayes, or make bridges for the eaſe of paſſengers, or for the good ſervice we haue done to our Countries, we are honored with the degree of Knights, or Barons, or Viſcounts, doe you thinke poſteritie ſhall not reape the benefit of theſe things, though wee haue our originall from the Citie?

Ruſtic. Without doubt they ſhall, but if you doe nothing els, but heape vp ſtones together, build faire houſes, and compaſſe them about with a little earth, and ſo leaue them, and thinke thereby to reape honour to your poſteritie; you are much (b) *miſtaken*; perhaps you may be honorable in ſo doing, *ratione feudi*, and to vſe the language of *Pegius*, you may paſſe for Knights made vp of paper and wax, but you ſhall never be *verè* (47) *milites*, nor partake of the priviledges of ſuch as be honorable.

(a) Equites aurati *were ſo called, becauſe that they alone were allowed to beautifie their armour, and the coperiſons of their horſes with gold, and to weare a chaine of gold, which had beginning from* Titus Manlius, *who for that he overcame an enemy to the State in a duell, and tooke his chaine from him, was called* Torquatus. *The forme whereof is repreſented in the collar of* SS, *which no man may weare vnder the degree of a Knight; by the Stat. of* 24. H. 8.

(46) Frobuſher *made three ſeverall voyages for the diſcovery of the* North-weſt paſſage *to the* Indies: *the firſt in the yeare* 1576. *the ſecond in the yeare* 1577 *the third* 1578.

Columbus *in the dayes of* K. Henry *the* 7. *diſcovered the* Weſt Indies *for the* Spaniard, *having before tendred his ſervice to the King of* England, *who (vnhappily) did not entertaine him.*

(b) Tales qui merè *Principis gratiâ* nobilitatem acquirũt, licèt in matricula nobilium ſunt deſcripti: ſi tamen non agunt nobilium actus, non gaudebunt nobilium privilegijs, nec comprehenduntur in Statuto mentionem faciente de nobilibus: *was the ſaying of* Sigiſmund *the Emperour.*

Ferne.

(47) *Milites a militia*; cùm ex ſtrenua et continuata militia tantus adipiſcitur honos.

Honoris augmentum non ambitione, ſed labore ad vnumquemq; convenit pervenire.

Vrban: Well I am glad you doe agree ſo farre with vs, that we may be Gentlemen and truely noble, though we take vpon vs the profeſſion of Marchants, or any other mechanicall trade or occupation. I pray you now being that we are fallen into a diſcourſe of the titles of honour, to tell me (though it ſavour a little of extravagancy) whether the Ladies of your Countrey (if they marry with Citizens) doe not looſe their titles & their places. It comes into my minde, for that being the laſt night at our chiefe officers houſe, where there were met many Ladies and Gentlewomen, there aroſe a great cõtroverſie betweene them about it: the Ladies confidently affirming, that they did not looſe it: the Gentlewomen as confidently that they did: the Ladies giving this reaſon, they did not (c) *becauſe they did not*: and the Gentlewomen giving this reaſon, that *they did becauſe they did*: and whoſe reaſons were the better reaſons; you being a man of judgement, and can judge betweene *rayſons* and *rayſons*, I craue your opinion.

Ruſtic. Truely in my opinion the reaſons which the Ladies gaue, were the better reaſons, becauſe they were the better women; but yet I ſhall tell you what I haue heard my Father ſay, who had ſeene *Paris* and *Padua*, and knew well what did belong to Gentry and Nobilitie, and had good skill likewiſe in the Lawes of his Country, that vnleſſe they were Ladies of the bloud royall, or deſcended from the loynes of noble progenitors; or otherwiſe had their titles conferred vpon them by ſpeciall grace from Soveraigne power and authoritie, though they were as deſerving as thoſe nine worthy Ladies, whom ſome haue parallelled for their noble acts and atchievements, with the nine worthies of the world; that is to ſay, (48) *Minerva, Semyramis*, and *Tomyris amongſt the Heathens*; *Iahel, Deborah*, and *Iudith* amongſt the *Iewes*; and the moſt renowned Lady and Empreſſe *Mawde, the daughter of King Henry the firſt of England*,

(c) Quando ratio eſt idem cum dicto, vana et fœminea eſſe tenetur inter juriſcõſultos: vt *Interrogatus cur poſſideat, reſpondit, quia poſſideo*: quod eleganter exprimit *Martial*: his verſibus.

Non amo te (*Sabidi*) nec poſſum dicere quare;
Hoc tantùm poſſum dicere, non amo te.

(48) Minerva *governed the* Lybians, *and obtained many victories: ſhe lived in the dayes of* Iſaack *the* Patriarch.

Semyramis, *Queene of the* Aſſyrians *cõquered* Æthiopia.

Tomyris, *Queene of* Scythia *conquered* Cyrus.

Iahel *deliuered her Country by killing of* Siſar.

Deborah *governed* Iſrael *fortie yeares in peace.*

Iudith *deliuered the beſieged Citie of* Bethulia *from the* Aſſyrians, *by cutting off* Holofernes *head.*

Mawde *the daughter of King* Henry *the* 1. *being firſt married to the Emperour* Henry *the fifth, and ſo had the title of Empreſſe, and afterward to* Geffry Plantagenet, *Earle of* Anjou, *and ſo had the title of Counteſſe of* Anjou, *never deſiſted from the field, vntill ſhee had cauſed* Stephen of Blois *to condeſcend to her ſons right.*

England, (*) *Elizabeth* Queene of *Spaine*, wife to King *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*; and *Iohanna* Queene of *Naples* amongſt the Chriſtians; yet they ſhall haue no other place but according to the(*)degrees of their husbands, & the reaſon thereof is as I haue heard him ſay, for that it ſhould be a mõſtrous thing in nature, that they whom the Lawes of God haue conjoyned, and made an vndivided bodie, the Lawes of man ſhould ſever and place in degree, the foote aboue the head, the inferior aboue the ſuperior, the wife aboue the husband.

(*) *Of the magnanimitie of* Elizabeth, Queene of Spaine, *ſee* Gwicciardine *in his fifth Booke of his Hiſtorie of* Italie.

Iohanna *Queene of* Naples, *defended her Countrie both againſt the inuaſions of the* Saracens, *and the warres of* Arragon.

Vrban: But what if ſhe marry with a Gentleman or Eſquier?

Ruſtic. It is all one, *Abijt madam*, her Ladiſhip is gone.

Vrban: I am glad to heare your Father was of that opinion, he was a learned man, and one that was well ſeene in Armes and Heraldry. The reaſon wherefore I deſire to be ſatisfied therein is, becauſe there is a Lady, or a reputed Lady in our Citie, that was the daughter of a meane man, and afterwards married with a Knight, and buried him, and ſince hath married with a man of meane degree; and becauſe ſhe was ſometimes a Lady, there is not a Gentlewoman, be ſhe the wife of the beſt Gentleman in the Citie, but ſhe will ſtep before her, and take place of her, and why forſooth, marry becauſe the Cuſtome of the Countrey doth giue it her, as ſhee ſaith. But when I ſhall tell our Citie Dames, that the Cuſtome of the Countrey is contrary to the Lawes of Armes, and the Lawes of the Kingdome; I am ſure they will not accuſtome her to doe as ſhe hath done.

(*)Quando fœmina nobilis nupſerit ignobili, deſinit eſſe nobilis.
Forma.

Ruſtic. Sir, I thanke you; you haue given me good ſatisfaction to all my queſtions: and now I cannot but acknowledge, that I am much taken by your relation, with many of the delights of your City: eſpecially with your Anatomie Lecture, and Vaulting exerciſe, and if I may be beholding to you, to tell me what dayes your

Schooles are open, I will make a journey to Towne, of purpose to see some feats of activitie vpon the horse, and to heare your Anatomie Lecture.

Vrban: Sir, our Schooles are open every day in the weeke (one day excepted which is set apart for another purpose) and admittance you may haue at all houres in the day, but we seldome come there, vnlesse it be in the (d) *morning, for that is the time that the Muses tooke to recreate themselues,* and then stay no longer at our bodily exercises, but vntill wee haue rowsed vp the naturall heate which was asleepe in vs, and prepared our selues to vndergoe better Actions, for that is the end wherefore wee vse those bodily recreations, in which we covet not to (e) *excell,* (that we leaue to the professors thereof) onely desire to attaine to so much skill, that when we meete with the Olympicke Lads, and be put to shew our selues, we become not ridiculous to the spectators.

(d) Quod *ver in anno*; quod *adolescentia in ætatibus*; id *mane dici, in ipso die esse.* Ideóq; musis inter omnes horas diluculum et auroram gratissimam, proverbium esse testatur. Exoriens namq; sol, vigorem, et alacritatem affert omnibus, discutitq; nebulas e ventriculo, exhalari consuetas, quæ mentis domicilium solent obnubilare.

(e) Saltatio *curiosa* generosũ non decet.

Rustic. But doe you never come thither after dinner?

Vrban: Never vpon a full stomacke: I must confesse, when I was young, I was so keene vpon some violent exercises, that no sooner was I out of my bed in a morning, but presently I was in the Schooles; and no sooner was the meate in my belly, but I was there againe; such a desire I had vnto them; but I paid dearely for it. Those violent motions begat such crudities, and such oppilations, that to this day I could never be free from head-ach, of which I never tasted vntill that time.

Rustic. It should seeme then, that your exercises are more hurtfull than profitable to the body of man.

Vrban: It is very true; if they be vsed at vnseasonable times: the best things may be (f) *abused*; you know there is nothing more commodious for the life of man than fire and water, yet if we vse the one to the burning of houses, and the other to the drowning of our neighbours, there is nothing more incommodious: there is nothing

(f) Nil prodest quod non *lædere* possit idem.
Igne quid vtilius? si quis tamen vrere tecta
Comparat, audaces instruit igne manus. *Ovid.*

nothing more neceſſary for the maintenance of life than meate and drinke, yet if we vſe to eate our meate vnſeaſonably, before we cõme out of our beds in a morning, a thing too common amongſt Ladies, or drinke our drinke vnſeaſonably, then when we are going to bed in the evening, a thing too common amongſt Lords, there is nothing that will breed more crudities, or bring vs ſooner to vntimely death. There is nothing more neceſſary for our ſoules health, than the ſtudie of divinitie: nor for the well ordering of our liues, than the ſtudie of morall Philoſophy; nor a better ornament to a man, than to be well verſéd in Poetry: yet we know the greateſt (g) *Divines haue beene the greateſt hereticks*, and the *greateſt Moraliſts and* (*) *Poets, haue had the greateſt blemiſhes & imperfections.* There is nothing more neceſſary, nor conduceth more to the preſervation of health, than the exerciſe of the body; yet if wee vſe to ride our horſes with *Caligula* ſo ſoone as the meate is in our bellies, it cannot but breed in vs as it did in him the (h) *Cardiacus*, that will quickly bring vs to our ends. Wherefore we ſeldom vſe any violent exerciſe but in the morning, or in the evening when our ſtomacks are emptie, and our meate fully concocted, and therefore if you come at thoſe times, you ſhall be ſure to haue admittance, and finde vs there. And thus ended the diſcourſe betweene *Ruſtico* and *Vrbano*.

(g) Conſtat famoſos *Theologos* hæreticos magnos fuiſſe, & *morales Philoſophos* peſſimis moribus imbutos fuiſſe, ſed hæc non artium, ſed artibus malè vtentium culpa eſt.

(*) Dæmonum cibus, ſecundùm Hieronimum, eſt *ſermo Poeticus*, ſed hoc Poëtis, non Poeticæ tribuendum eſt. *Petrar. lib.* Poëticarum quæſtionum exercitationes eruditorum hominum ſecundas mentes nominant aliqui, ideóq; vt condimentis, non vt cibis vti debemus.

(h) Vid: Annot. in *Caligulam* in *Sueton.*

No ſooner had Vrbano *thus ended his diſcourſe; but* Ruſtico *goes vnto* Theologo, *and as he and* Vrbano *had queſtioned each other, ſo he demaunds of* Theologo, *the motiues that might induce him to take that ſacred profeſſion of* Divinitie *vpon him; beginning as followeth.*

Ruſtic. Sir, when you were young (as I remember) you were more inclinable to the life of a Souldier, than to

to take that ſacred profeſſion of *Diuinitie* vpon you; what might be the motiues then I pray you that induced you vnto it?

Theolog. I ſhall therein giue you ſatisfaction, I muſt acknowledge, I was in my youth of an actiue ſpirit, and more inclinable to any profeſſion than to the life of a Scholler, whoſe profeſſion is to be Cloyſtred vp in a Colledge, and as it were buried aliue in a ſtudie, but it fell out in thoſe my youthfull times, there was a generall peace throughout all Chriſtendome, and ſo no imployment for ſuch ſpirits as I was of. Whereupon I reſolved to ſpend ſome yeares abroad in (i) *trauaile, that at my returne I might doe my King and Countrey the better ſervice*; yet before I would croſſe the Seas, I reſolved to take a Survey of mine own Country at home, which that I might the better doe, I tooke ſome paines in Maiſter *Cambdens Britannia*, acquainting my ſelfe thereby with moſt of the famous Cities, Townes, and Villages of the Kingdome, together with the Shires, the nature of the ſoyle, and the diſpoſition of the people, and not willing to content my ſelfe with a bare ſpeculatiue knowledge, a great part of the Summer for three or foure yeares together, I tooke my journey into one part of the Kingdome or other, to the intent that I might be the better aſſured, and that mine eyes might teſtifie thoſe things which I had onely heard and read of before: ſo that after I had fully ſatisfied my ſelfe, by an exquiſite Survey taken of all the Shires, Cities, Townes, Villages, and Hamlets of note, together with the diſpoſitions of the people, and the ſeverall kinde of ſpeeches, much differing, though but one language, I tooke my flight at laſt over the Seas into *Fraunce*, where I muſt confeſſe, I was a little daunted and diſanimated at my firſt arrivall, when I ſaw others make themſelues merry with diſcourſe, and I ſtood by like the picture of *Eraſmus* in *Roterodame*, or of *Greſham* in the

(i) *Peregrinatio* ad prudentiam multũ valet, et penè magis quàm vlla præcepta. Homerus Vlyſſeæ prudentiæ cauſam decantaturus, hanc potiſſimùm allegat.

Multorum mores hominum conſpexit et vrbes.

Et *Plutarchus* prudentiam *Lycurgi* oſtenſurus, allegat expeditionẽ ſuam in *Cretam*, et converſationem in *Thalete*.

Plutarch. in *Lycurgo.*

Sic *Germanicum Cæſarem* legimus incredibili cupiditate veteres locos et celebres viſendi, *Græciam*, *Thraciam*, oram *Aſiæ*, ipſas demùm *Armeniæ* peragraſſe.

Bellus, lib. 2.

Sic *Cicero Syracuſis* inveſtigatam & inventam a ſe *ſphæram Archimedis* gloriatur.

the *Exchange*, ſtaring vpon them, not able to anſwere a word; and one while I did envie the (k) *ages of our fore-fathers, to ſee them ſo wittie, as to be able in Moris-daunces with their feete and fingers, to expreſſe whole Hiſtories*, and I not able with all my art, without a great deale of difficultie, to make my ſelfe to be vnderſtood; another while in ſome bitternes I fell vpon (l) *Nimrod*, for (it came into my thoughts) had he not beene, I ſhould not haue needed being growne in yeares to become a childe againe, to haue gone to Schoole to learne to ſpeake; the language of *Fraunce* would haue beene as familiar vnto me, as the language of mine owne Country, there would haue bin no *Miſcellania*, no confuſion of tongues: the (m) *French and the Engliſh, the Græcian and Hebritian, the Romane and Italian, the Spanyard and the Sclavonian, ſhould haue vſed but one and the ſame language*. Sometimes againe I condemned my ſelfe, that had lived ſo long at home, and had caſt away ſo many houres in hawking and hunting, in dicing and carding, in bowling & ſporting, and neglected to learne the language of my neighbour-Country; ſo that I was much perplexed in my thoughts, whether I ſhould goe forward or backward, to returne ſo ſuddenly I thought it would be deemed (49) *inconſtancy in me, which is a ſure and certaine ſigne of a giddie head and incertaine minde*; and to goe forward, being that I knew not how to ſpeak, I thought it would much (n) *trouble me*, but at laſt when I had duely conſidered, that it was not my caſe alone, but the caſe of moſt young freſh-water travellers, I reſolved as ſoone as ever I had run over *Ortellius*, and his Mappes, as I had done before Maiſter *Cambdens Britannia*, and thereby acquainted my ſelfe by a ſpeculatiue knowledge, with all the parts of that Country, to take my flight into thoſe parts which were moſt vſefull for the obteyning of the Mother-tongue thereof; which reſolution I purſued, and tooke my voyage accordingly. Where I reſided ſo

(k) Invidebam *Neronianis* illorúmq; temporum *Chiromimis* et ſaltatoribus qui digitis loquebantur, et integras *hiſtorias* fabuláſq; ſaltabant. *Bellus.*

(l) O quoties ille *Babyloniæ* turris Architectus, tantæ cõfuſionis autor et nebulo *Nimrod* peregrinãtibus deteſtandus! *Bellus.*

Then Finland-*folke might viſit* Africa,
The Spaniard Indy, *and ours* America;
Without a truſtie man; now the banks that bound
Our Townes about, our tongues doe alſo mound.
For who from home but halfe a furlong gees,
A dumbe alas his reaſons toole doth loſe;
Or if wee talke but with our neere confines,
Wee borrow mouthes, or elſe wee worke by ſignes.

(m) Vna prius lingua fuit, omnibus vna loquela.

(49) *Vacillatio* eſt certum ſignum incertæ mentis.

(n) Quæ major *moleſtia* quàm non intelligi, cum interrogamus; cum interrogamur obſtupeſcere, quaſi torpedo marina tetigerit? *Petrarch.*

long; vntill I became so good a proficient in the knowledge of the language of that Country, as to vnderstand and to make my selfe to be vnderstood in any manner of discourse, that was offered vnto me in the language thereof. So that after I had taken a full Survey of that Country, and the people thereof, and borrowed some of their language to conduct me (being indeede an excellent guide) at length I past into *Italy*, taking *Ortelius* still with me for a companion, and demeaning my selfe in those parts as I had done before in *Fraunce*: and after I had spent some time there, I past further into other Christian Kingdomes, and out of them as farre as *Constantinople*, and after I had glutted my selfe with a full view and sight of those parts, and acquainted my selfe with the Occurrences that fell out during the time that I made my abode therein, and obtained the severall languages of the Countryes, I returned at length home againe, being by this time neare thirtie yeares of age: and now being at home in my mothers lap, mine owne natiue Country, I was much perplext in what Course of life I should weare out the rest of my dayes, and after that I had long tumbled and tost my thoughts over and over, at length I resolved to betake my selfe to the Vniversitie, to become a childe againe; and there first to instruct my selfe in the grounds & principles of Logicke, Philosophie, and Physicke, but vpon Physicke to settle my affections, as vpon her from whom I did expect some liuelihood and preferment. Whereunto partly I was inclined by reason of mine owne weake constitution of bodie, and partly out of a covetous desire I had to raise some Trophies for the benefit of posteritie, but when I considered the (o) *incertaintie and mutabilitie of all those goods, by the Philosophers stiled the goods of fortune and the bodie.* How the greatest Empires, Kingdomes, Citics, haue had their periods, their rising and their setting: How the famous Monarchie of the *Assyrians*

(o) Humana conditio apprimè depingitur per *Phil: Comin:* in *Ludovico* 11. in *Carolo* duce *Burgundiæ* in *Ed.* 4. rege Angliæ, in rege *Hungariæ*, et in *Ottom: Imperatore Turcarū.*

Phil: Com: lib. 6. c. 13.

——*Vnder heaven no race*
Perpetually possesseth any place:
But as all Tenants at the high
Lords will:
We hold a field, a forrest, or a hill.

Bartas,

rians devolved to the *Medes* and *Persians*, how that againe to the *Grecians*, and how that againe to the *Romanes*. And how at this day *Constantinople*, the auncient seate of the Christian Emperours, and all those Greeke Churches of which mention is made so often in the sacred Scriptures, of (p) *Peloponnesus*, *Epirus*, *Armenia*, *Macedonia*, and (q) *Alexandria*, that was so famous throughout the world for the *scituation* of it, that wee may say of it for the scituation (as *Philip Cõmines* doth of (r) *England for the government of it:*) are become the Territories of the Turke. How (s) *Rhodes the key of Christendome*, which for a long time by the valiant prowesse & magnanimitie of the Knights stoutly withstood him & hindred the passage of his treasure out of *Ægypt* into *Constantinople*, together with *Chios* and *Famagosta*, a chiefe hold in *Cyprus*, are vnder his dominion: how these foureteene auncient Christian Kingdomes, of *Castile*, *Leon*, *Arragon*, *Catalonia*, *Navarre*, *Asturia*, *Granado*, *Valentia*, *Toledo*, *Galatia*, *Myrcia*, *Portugall*, and *Algarbe*, are all swallowed vp in the Spanish Monarchie. How in *Italie*, *Millaine* and *Naples* haue lost their stations, and are likewise swallowed vp in that insatiable gulfe: how in *Fraunce* the Crowne hath beene devolved from the *Merovingians* to the *Charlovingians*, from the *Charlovingians* to the *Capovingians*, and in them from the house of *Valois* to the house of *Bourbon*, and all by the meanes of a (t) *meane Iacobin Fryar*. To come home to our selues, how this our Nation hath beene altered and changed: how at the first it was the portion of *Samothes*, one of the sonnes of *Iaphet*, and from him received the name of *Samothea*: how afterwards it came from the line of *Cham*, and so devolved from the posteritie of *Iaphet* to the (50) *posteritie of Cham*: how afterwards *Brute* invaded it, and named it after his owne name *Britaine*, and in time became a Pentarchie: How afterwards the *Romanes* invaded it and made it a tributaric

(p) *Munsterus* in *Cosmograph:*

(q) Verticem omnium Civitatũ vocat *Alexandriam Ammianus Marcellinus* lib. 22°. Ibi aer trãquillus, et serenus, et nullo pænè die incolentes hanc Civitatem solem serenum non vident.

(r) *Of all the Seignories of the world, the Realme of* England *is the countrie where the Common-wealth is best governed, the people lest oppressed.*
Phil: Com: lib. 5. c. 18.

(s) Rhodes *was lost in the yeare* 1522. Chios *in the yeare* 1566 Famagosta *in the yeare* 1571.

(t) Nihil tam firmum est cui periculũ non sit ab *invalido*. Curt. lib. 7. Leo ipse aliquando *minimarum avium* pabulũ fit, et ferrũ *rubigo* consumit.
Curt.
Vidi cruentos carcere inclusi duces; et *innocentis* terga *plebeia manu* scind tyranni.
Seneca in Hercule furente.

(50) *See* Chaucer *in his second booke of the Testament of loue; where he lamenteth that* Cains *children should inherit* Iaphets *possessions.*
How this Kingdome hath bin tumbled and tost of later times, in the warres betweene the two houses of Yorke & Lancaster.
See Phil: Commin: lib. 3. cap. 4. 5. 6. & 7°.

rie Kingdome, being before absolute; how afterwards the *Saxons* invaded it, and in processe of time divided the spoyle and made it an Heptarchie; how afterwards the *Danes* invaded it, and most barbarously demolished & spoyled it; how afterwards the *Normans* invaded it, which was the last invasion that prevailed, and the last, I hope, that ever shall doe. To descend to families within our selues; how the name and familie of the (51) *Bohuns* that flourished from the time of King *Iohn* to the dayes of King *Edward* the third, being Earles of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lords of *Brecknocke*, and Constables of *England*, six or seaven one after another; how the noble name and familie of the (52) *Beauchamps, Earles of Warwicke, and Barons of Elmelie in Worcestershire, that flourished from the dayes of King Edward the first vntill the dayes of King Henry the sixt*, and were highly honoured by their Soveraignes for the good service they did both at home and abroad, are quite and cleane extinguished: how the *Mortimers*, Earles of *March*, in whose veynes the (u) *royall blond ran so plentifully*, and that flourished from the dayes of King *Edward* the second, fiue severall descents together, even vntill the time of King *Henry* the sixth: how the *de la Poles*, Dukes of *Suffolke* that flourished from the dayes of King *Edward* the third, vntill the time of King *Henry* the eighth. To omit the auncient familie of the *Staffords*, now much ecclipsed, noble even from the Conquest, Earles from the time of K. *Edward* the third vntill the time of King *Henry* the sixth, six together one after another, and Dukes from that time vntill the raigne of King *Henry* the eighth. How the very name of the *Plantagenets*, that flourished thirteene seve-

(51) Henry de Bohun *was in the right of his grand-mother, daughter and heire of* Milo *Earle of* Hereford, *made Earle of* Hereford *and Constable of* England, *the first yeare of* K. Iohn; *which honours with many more continued in the name of the* Bohuns *vntill the dayes of* K. Edw: *the* 3. *and then for want of issue male of* Humfrey *the seventh* Earle of Hereford *they came to* Thomas *Duke of* Gloucester, *and* K. Henry *the fourth who married the daughters and heires of the* Bohuns Elianor *and* Mary.

(52) *Vnto* William *the first* Earle of Warw: *of that name, with others King* Edw: *the first graunted the tutelage of* Edw: *the* 2. *he dyed at* Elmelie *and was buried at* Worcester; *vnto* Guy Earle *of* Warw: *King* Edw: *the first granted the Castle of* Barnard *in the Bishoprick of* Durham; *he caused* Peter Gaveston *Earle of* Cornwall, *an enemy to the State, to be beheaded not farre from* Warwicke. Thomas *Earle of* Warwick *did strange things at* Hogs *in* Normandie *vnder* Edw: *the* 3. *as* Walsinghã *reports, in* scandendo terram apud Hogs (vt inquit *Walsing:*) Tho: Beauch: cum vno Armigero et sex Architenẽtibus contra centũ homines de armis audacter manum erexit, et hostili hastiludio obvium quenquã prostravit.

Walsing: in Vpodigm. Newst. Henry *the last of that name, King* Henry *the* 6. *so much honoured, that he made him* Duke of Warwicke, *with this addition of honour, that in all meetings he should sit next the* Duke of Norfolke, *above the* Duke of Buckingham: *he dyed about the age of twentie-two yeares as* Henly *not far from* Worcester, *where he was borne, and was buried at* Tewxburie. (u) Edmond *the third* Earle of March, *married* Anne *the daughter and heire of* Lionel Duke of Clarence, *one of the sonnes of King* Edward *the third, and* Edmond *the fifth* Earle *of that name married* Anne *the daughter of* Edmond Earle of Stafford, *and* Anne *his wife, who was daughter to* Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Gloucester, *another of the sonnes of King* Edward *the third.*

rall

rall descents, especially in the dayes of King (w) *Edward the third and King Henry the fifth, who for their incomparable victories, obtained in a strange Country, were honored by their very enemies*, are now cleane extinguished. To leaue Kingdomes and Principalities, and private families, and to come to wonders, how the stately *Pyramides* in *Memphis*, built by the Kings of *Ægypt*; which cost three thousand and sixtie men twentie yeares worke. How the Tower of (x) *Pharos*, built by *Ptolomie*, the *walles* of *Babylon* by *Semiramis*; the Temple of *Diana* at *Ephesus* by the Nobilitie of *Asia*; the *Colossus* in *Rhodes* by *Lindius*; the Tombe of *Mausolus* by his Queene *Artemisia*, and the costly Image of *Iupiter* by *Phidias*, being the seaven wonders of the world. How *Sparta* and *Corinth*, the costly bathes of *Anthonie* and *Dioclesian*, and the golden house of *Nero* are all of them at this day overwhelmed in the dust. And how as Kingdomes and Principalities: so the sinewes & strength of Kingdomes, the (z) *Coyne of them hath beene altered and changed:* how in the Coynes of most auncient times, there is no similitude of man to be found; how in the Coynes of more latter times, the Emperours haue beene pleased to cause their owne pictures to be stamped; how afterwards both in the Coynes of the Easterne & Westerne Churches, the picture of the Crosse was to be seene, yet differenced thus; in the Coynes of the Easterne Church, there was alwayes on the top of the Crosse a Crowne with a palme, to signifie triumph and victorie over the world. How after the Councell of *Nice*, where the Arrian-heresie was condemned, there was generally in all Coynes the mysterie of the sacred Trinitie, God the Father speaking out of a Cloud thus, *Hic est filius meus dilectus*, God the sonne portraitured in the shape of a Lambe, God the ho'y Ghost in ẏ shape of a Doue. And how at this day they are as they were neere vnto the beginning, with the similitude of the Prince stamped

(w) *Iean de Seres* tellement par la d'*Edwile*; et *de son armee'*, qu'il est prince de cœur magnanimè de prompt et resolve vivacitè et que *l'arme' Angloise* navoit pas taunt ne de homes ne de *personages signales*, mes l'experience monstra per tout qu'il ne cedoit a le Francoise *n' en courage n' en valour*.

(x) Omnia quæ manu hominum facta sunt, vel manu hominum evertuntur, vel stando et durando deficiunt. Vbi est nunc *Troianorũ illud Ilion superbum?* vbi *bursa Carthaginis?* vbi *turris & mœnia Babylonis?* Belluarũ nunc habitatio et serpentum. Vbi est illa *Neronis domus* aurea, quæ tantum defatigaverit Architectos? vbi sunt *Thermæ Dioclesianæ & balneum Antonianum?* vbi tot opera tantis impensis ædificata? certè aut nulla, aut perexigua tantorũ operum relinquũtur vestigia.

Petrarch.

Perpetuum nihil est ex sublunaribus, at quod
In pretio est hodiè, cras redit in nihilum;
Numẽ ab æternis distinguẽs vsq; caduca,
Hunc velit humanis rebus inesse statum.
Sublunarẽ & terrenum hunc locum Circes esse diversorium dicit Solon; vbi perpetuò rerum facies mutantur; vbi verbum nunc fulguris instar evanescit, & ictu oculi dissipatur; vbi vigent appellationes hæ, prius, & posterius, fuit, et it.

(z) *Scaliger in exposit:* numism. Constant.

(a) Æterna lex a principio dicta omni huic mundo, nasci, denasci, oriri, aboriri, nec quicquam stabile aut firmũ arbiter ille rerum esse voluit præter ipsum. Exclamat tragicus vates. Omnia ista quæ miracls, aut pereunt, aut mutãtur. Solem vides, deficit; Lunam, laborat & tabescit; sydera labantur et cadum. Varro asserit Hesperum colorem mutãsse, magnitudinẽ, figurã et cursũ.

(*) Vnus sub Tiberio terræmotus duodecim celebres Asiæ vrbes subvertit, totidẽ Campanie oppida: alius sub Constantino.

Lipsi: lib. 1. de Constan:

(52) The greedy Ocean breaking his wonted bounds,
Vsurpes his beards, his wealthy Iles and Townes.
——The greedie earth againe
Swallowes whole Countries, and the ayrie tops
Of Princes Towers in her vast wombe wraps.

(*) Ilands.

(b) Vita quid est nisi res fragilis nisi bulla vel aura?
Punctum est quod vivimus et adhuc puncto minus.
Seneca.

Quis est quamvis adolescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum.
Cicero.

(c) Principium vitæ dolor est, dolor exitus ingens,
Sic medium dolor est; vivere quid libeat?
Flebilis ingressus, status difficilis, egressus horribilis.
Bles.

Cum semel est infans gravida resolutus ab alvo.
Ortus prima sui munera sunt gemitus.
Clamant E. vel A. quotquot nascuntur ab Eva.

ped vpon them. To leaue the things below and to ascend higher, how the (a) *Sunne and Moone haue lost much of their wonted power, and doe daily faint and fall away.* How the Evening Starre by the Auncients called *Vesperugo* and *Hesperus*, hath changed his colour, forme and course; how the Elements leaue their stations, and are all at oddes and warre one with another; how the ayre creepes into the holes of the Earth, and makes her vast bodie to reele and totter; and sometimes throws downe Townes by the (*) *dozens*; how the Earth and Water in revenge climbe vp vnto the skies and there occasion lightning and thunder, stormes and tempests, hayle and snow; how the (53) *water exceeds her wonted chanels, and makes a navigable Sea where firme land stood before:* how the (*) *Earth againe in revenge gathers her forces together, and mounts vp her selfe aboue the waters, and takes vp her lodging in the midst of her dwelling.* These things when I considered, as also what the Earth was, that it was the Center of the Vniverse, not equallizing the Sunne in magnitude to the hundred degree: and that he that had the most and greatest share therein, had in respect of it but little, and for a (b) *short time*; and yet subject to change and alteration. Againe, when I considered, with what materials these bodies of ours are framed, and how they are still patcht and pieced out, and into what corruptible materials they must be dissolved: how the curious Venetian Dames, who whilest they liue, will not endure to haue *Boreas* to blow vpon them, nor *Phœbus* to shine vpon them, within a few dayes after they haue shooke hands with the world, become so contemptible, that even the meanest reasonable servile Creature, who whilest they lived, would in a manner haue adored thẽ, will not endure to come a neare them. Againe, when I considered, how we come (c) *whyning into the world, and when we are there, how we are made the sport of time, banded to and fro like a ball,* sometimes vp and

and ſometimes downe; how (d) *Bajacet* in the morning was the great magnificent Emperour of the Turkes, in the evening a footſtoole to *Tamerlane*; how (e) *Bellizarius* that in his time was the moſt victorious Commander of the world, before he dyed was brought to that miſery, that he did beg for livelihood; how *Sejanus* and (g) *Darius*, the one of them the onely minion of three great Princes, and ſo powerfull, that (as *Æneas Sylvius* obſerues) *ſolus ille imperium adminiſtrabat*, was ignominiouſly dragged with a hooke through the ſtreets to his death, and all his Statues caſt out of the Capitoll, the other a great King of *Perſia*, was brought to that miſery, that he was glad to drinke puddle-water begd from an enemie, and which was worſe than all, was betrayed, ſcorned and derided of his owne fleſh and bloud whom he had rayſed. Againe, when I beheld the ſeverall conditions of men, and ſaw in one place a man that laboured in wiſedome, knowledge, and honeſt-dealing, to leave an inheritãce to him that had neither *wiſedome, knowledge, nor honeſtie: in another place, a man that had neither ſonne, childe, or brother, labouring and toyling to heape vp gold and ſilver together, as if there had beene no other way to purchaſe heaven, but by getting of it: in another place, a man to whom God had given abundance of all things, and denyed him nothing that his heart could wiſh and deſire, yet gaue him not (54) power to eate thereof, but ſuffered ſtrangers to enjoy it.* Theſe things when I conſidered, as alſo when I beheld the great bodie of the ſublunarie world, and ſaw how one (*) *generation paſſed and another came, how the Sunne riſeth and ſetteth againe, and returneth to the place where it aroſe; how the Rivers come from the Seas, and returne to the place from whence they came*; how the wind goeth toward

(d) *Paulus Iovius*, lib. 3. *de bellica virtute virorũ illuſtriũ in vita Tamerl. et Bajacet.*

(e) *Iuſtiniani juſſu excæcatus Belizarius* tuguriolum prope viam cõſtitui fecit in quo reliquum vitæ tranſigeret, victũ quæritans, et hoc prætereuntibus dicitans. *Da obolũ Belizario, quem rerum proſperè geſtarum magnitudo extulit, invidia excæcavit.*

Ægid: Per: in vita Iuſtin:

(g) Apud *Tiberium Neronem et Claudium*, tam potens erat *Seianus*, vt ſolus hic imperiũ adminiſtrabat.

Æneas Sylvius.

Cum aquam turbidam et cadaveribus inquinatam bibiſſet *Darius*, negat ſe vnquam bibiſſe jucundius.

Sleidan lib. 1. de 4. Monarch.

Gloria regnandi quàm fluxa ſit, & brevis, hic eſt
Cernere, Rex hodiè, cras *vapor, vmbra, nihil.*
Miſerabile ſpectaculũ a præfectis et cognatis, Beſſo, & Nabarzano capitur Darius.

Iuſtin: lib. 11.

Quos fælices *Cynthia* vidit,
Vidit miſeros abitura dies.
Quem dies vidit veniens ſupernum,
Hunc dies vidit fugiens jacentem.
Momento mare convertitur; eodem die vbi luſerunt navigia, ſorbentur.

Seneca.

(*) *Salomons* foole.

(54) Divitias locupletis habes, animam ſed egeni; *Hareth* ô dives, ſed *nihi* ſolus egens.

Marul.

——Hic vt apes, Sudat in alveolo, mella alij comedunt. (*) Obſerva (inquit *Seneca*) orbem rerum in ſe remeantium; vides in hoc mundo nihil extingui, ſed vicibus deſcendere ac reſurgere: æſtas abit, ſed alter annus illam adducit; hyems cecidit, referent illam ſui menſes; ſolem nox obruit, ſed ipſam ſtatim dies abigit: ſtellarum diſcurſus quicquid præterijt, repetit. *Seneca Epiſt.* 36.

the

the South, and returneth to the North, and whirleth about towards his Circuits; how man riſeth and goeth to bed, ſhuts vp the windowes of his bodie, falles into a dead ſleepe, and ſo paſſeth away: how the ſeaſons of the yeare come and goe; and how that which now is, hath beene in times paſt, and how that which hath beene alreadie, ſhall be againe in time to come; and how there is no *new thing vnder the Sunne*; and how all the glory of this vaine world is like vnto the comming in of (h) *Cato vpon the ſtage*, or the Soveraigntie of the (i) *drunkard, whom Pyrrhus tooke vp in the ſtreets*, or the Conſulſhip of (k) *Caninius* and *Vatinius*, ſhort and momentany: how in it there is no joy without ſome perturbation, no peace without diſſention, no loue without ſuſpition, no reſt without feare, no fulneſſe without defect and penury, no honour without ſome blot or ſtaine, no ſtate or condition which hath not ſomewhat in it worthy of reprehenſion; how in it diſſemblers are rewarded, plaine dealers puniſhed, thoſe that loue peace are annoyed, thoſe that ſtirre vp ſedition are beloved, notorious offenders diſmiſſed, innocents condemned, (*) *wiſe-men neglected, fooles made much of, Et quilibet ex parte contra id quod vult, omninò verò contra id quod debet, præpoſterè facit*, every man doth that which he ſhould not, & neglects that which he ſhould doe. How in it he that is raſh is taken for valiant, he that is troubleſome and importunate for diligent, he that is ſad for peaceable, he that is prodigall for a brave fellow, he that is covetous for a good husband; he that can prate much for eloquent, he that is ignorant for a man of few words; he that is diſſolute and careles *pro amaſio* a man in loue, he that is modeſt for a ſimple and ſilly animall, he that is greedie of revenge for a Courtier; & how generally *injuria pro jure, et jus pro injuria appellatur*: how in it we ſpend our childhood in oblivion, we know not how, our tender age in feare vnder Governors and Tutors, our youthfull age in

(h) Intravit vt exiret *Plut. in Cat.*

(i) Pyrrhus *ſeeing a man dead-drunke in the ſtreets, being willing to ſport himſelfe, cauſed him to be brought to his Pallace, and there to be lodged, clothed, feaſted, and attended like a Prince; who waking, ouer-ioyed with ſo ſuddaine an alteration, drunke himſelfe as he was before, who then cauſed him to be ſtript and put into his rags againe, and to be brought where he was* firſt found.

(k) Cùm *Caninius* vno et eodem die quo Cõſulatũ iniiſſet, depoſitus erat. Iocatus eſt in illum *Cicero*; vigilantem (inquit) habemus Conſulem *Caninium*, qui Conſulatu ſuo non admiſit ſomnum: et in *Vatinium*, qui paucis diebus Conſularem geſſit, jocatus eſt, quòd eo Cõſule nec *bruma*, nec *aſtas*, nec *ver*, nec *autumnus* fuit.

(*) Vidi (inquit *Salemon*) ſervos in equos, et principes ambulantes ſuper terrã quaſi ſervos.

Eccleſ. 10.

Vidi nec *velocium* eſſe *curſum*, nec *fortium bellum*, nec *doctorum divitias*, nec *artificum gratiam*, ſed *tempus caſúmq;* in omnibus.

Eccleſ. 9.

in vice, our manly age in troubles, and turmoiles, our old age in sorrowes & complaints: how one man wants his (55) *eyes, and cannot see, another his eares and cannot heare, another his nose and cannot smell.* How one hath his forhead furrowed, another hath the gowt in his legges, another hath the stone in his reines, another the *Hemicrania*, the Megrim in his head, another the winde in his belly; how some are diseased with the leprosie, some with the *French*-scurffe, some with the Sciatica, some with feavers, some with cramps and palsies, and all men generally with one disease or other; how he that is now tall and straight, anone bowes like a bow; he that hath now a gracefull countenance, sparkling eyes, sound teeth, and a firme bodie, anone after *corrugatur, edentatur, infirmatur,* becomes ill favoured, toothlesse, and weake, not able to goe. How some are taken away in their (56) *youth, some in their age*; some die for want of foode, some by surfets and drunkennesse, some taken suddenly in their beds, some walking in the streets; how before our faces the earth opens and swallowes vs vp; the (57) *Water drownes vs*, the fire burnes vs, the ayre infects vs; how in the Winter the cold annoyes vs, in the Summer the heate parcheth vs, the dogs bite vs, the Spider poysons vs, the Gnats sting vs, and the (*) *flyes trouble vs*: how the Beare is at oddes with the Lyon, the Rhinoceros with the Elephant, the Eagle with the Vulture, the Hawke with the Kite, the Bull with the Beare, (*) *man with man*, and all creatures with death. These things when I considered, as also how the Auncients haue aptly compared the world to a prison or den, wherein are divers roomes and partitions, and all full fraught with (58) *fooles and ideots*, some searching after things which are impossible to be obtained, some seeking after things, which being gotten, become hurtfull vnto them; some (59) *threatning so much that no man feares them; some swearing so much, that no man beleeues them:*

(55) Sunt qui *nare* nihil, sunt qui nil *aure* iuventur;
Sunt etiam quorum *lumina* luce carent.
Owenus.

(56) Non servat methodum *logica mors nescia* nostræ,
Occidit ante patrem *natus*, avumq; *nepos*.

(57) *The great* Leviathan
Turnes vpside downe the boyling Ocean:
And on the suddaine sadly doth entombe
Our floting Castle in deepe Thetis *wombe.*

(*) *Besides, the* Lyon *and the* Leopard,
Bore, Beare, *and* Wolfe, *to death pursue vs hard:*
And ther's no flie so small but now dare bring,
Her little wrath against her quondam King.
Bartas.

(*) Quæ tam festa dies vt cesset prodere *furem*
Perfidiam, fraudes, atq; omni ex crimine lucrum
Quæsitum, & gladio pravos & pixide nummos.
Iuvenal.

(58) Dicitur vniversum agere histrioniam. Vtq; vulgò dicitur; *Stultorum* esse caveam, caveolis plurimis dispertitam, eos verò cæteris stultiores esse, qui prudentiolam nacti sapientiores sibi omnibus videntur.
Bellus.

(59) *Et semper juras*, et cunctis (*Arne*) *minaris*,
Vis scire vtilitas quæ venit inde tibi?
Sic *juras* vt nemo tibi jam deniq; *credat*:
Sic *minitaris*, vt has nemo minas *metuat*.
Morus in *Arnum* minitantem & jurantem.

them: ſome giving ſo much, that they leaue nothing for themſelues; ſome neglecting to helpe themſelues, hauing no bodie els to helpe them; and ſome indeede who haue taken vp the chiefeſt roome in this fooles paradiſe, who having attained to ſome ſmall degree and meaſure of wiſedome, flatter themſelues, to haue eſpouſed *Minerua* the Goddeſſe of wiſedome; whereas ſhee never vouchſafed ſo much honour to any mortall wight as to haue any inward acquaintãce or familiarity with them, but keepes her ſelfe a Virgin ſole and vnmarried. Theſe things when I conſidered likewiſe, as alſo how in this (60) *Priſon* ſome are bound to a poſt, ſome wandring abroad, ſome in the dungeon, ſome in the vpper-ward, ſome weeping, ſome laughing, ſome labouring, ſome playing, ſome ſinging, ſome chiding, vntill death without reſpect of age, of ſexe, or eſtate, ſeize vpon all, and caſts vs out, either to the wormes to be devoured vnder ground, or to Crowes or dogs aboue ground; and how every Captiue in this priſon ſtands attainted and condemned of high treaſon, and is lyable to be dragd every houre to execution. And how all the armes, titles, and honours of our forefathers and progenitors, are of no better account, than are the armes of a theefe hanged vp in *Newgate*, after that he hath beene executed at *Tyburne* for ſome notorious offence. Theſe conſiderations blunted the edge of my affections, and diſheartned me to make the ſtudie of (1) *Phyſicke my profeſſion*, and made me to ſequeſter my ſelfe from the affaires of the world: and to take into my conſideration ſome more noble diuine ſtudie; and ſo vpon mature deliberation, I betooke my ſelfe to the ſtudie of (m) *Diuinitie*. Thus haue I vnfolded vnto you briefly the Cauſes wherefore I made the ſtudie of *diuinitie* my profeſſion.

Ruſtic. I muſt acknowledge you haue grounded your reſolution vpon a good foundation, and muſt yeeld vnto your choice; but I pray you giue me leaue to expoſtulate

(60) Damnati & morituri in terræ claudimur omnes *Carcere*, in hoc mortem carcere nemo fugit.
Carceris in multas deſcribitur area partes,
Inq; alijs alij partibus ædificant.
Non aliter quàm de regno, de carcere certant,
In cæco cupidus carcere condit opes.
Carcere obambulat hic vagus, hic vinctus in antro.
Hic ſervit, regit hic, hic canit, ille gemit.
Iam quoq; dum Carcer, non tanquam carcer, amatur,
Hinc alijs alij mortibus extrahimur.
Morus de vanitate hujus vitæ.

(1) Salubre conſilium cuiuſcunq; fuit. Cum vita mortalium ſit fluxa quædam & momentanea ad futuram vitam in æternitate.n duratura peregrinatio: terrena calcanda, ſtudenda cæleſtia.

(m) Rhetorica a *Demoſthene*, Phyſica a *Galeno*, ars Poetica ab *Homero*, Philoſophia ab *Ariſtotele*, Geometria ab *Euclide*, militia a *Vegetio*, Theologia ſolùm a Deo immortali originem ſumpſit.

ſtulate a little with you: how commeth it to paſſe, being that you of your profeſſiõ haue devoted your ſelues wholy vnto God, that you doe ſo much trouble your ſelues with the affaires of the world as you vſually doe, being ſo much differing from your profeſſion?

Theol: It is a fault I muſt acknowledge, but wee are men as you are, and ſubject to the ſame infirmities, ſo long as we carry about vs theſe bodies of ours: we haue wiues and children and families, and competent proviſion muſt be made for them, which cannot be had without ſome care and trouble.

Ruſtic. It is a thing I haue often heard objected againſt you.

Theol: I know it is a common objection, that vnder colour of providing for our families, we rob the poore and the Church of God, impropriating that to a few which belongs to many, and that we haue alered the formes of the deeds of purchaſe, of our predeceſſors; in ſtead of to haue and to hold to vs and our ſucceſſors, we haue cauſed to be inſerted, to vs and to our heires; But who are they that doe thus vpbraide vs? They are thoſe wandring(n) *Empyricks*, that come into our Countrie to ſee and not be ſeene; who if they cannot haue the Moone to barke at, will barke at their (61) *ſhadowes*: who whileſt we doe but that which is commended and commanded, they doe that which is condemned and prohibited, yet are ever bawling and exclaiming againſt vs. We haue wiues; It is true, and haue the ſacred Scripture to warrant vs; they haue none, but erect Stewes, and haue the Scripture to condemne them: a fault it is I muſt acknowledge in them that haue the gift of Continencie, to enſnare themſelues with the Cares of wedlocke, in hope of profit or preferm̃t. But a greater fault it is for ſuch as haue it not to reſolve to ſpend all their dayes in filthineſſe and vncleanneſſe. No life without queſtion is more pleaſing and acceptable vnto God than

(n) Quid non abſurdum hi, quivocantur *Monachi*, aliquãdo declamant? ipſi nihil experti rident *fera*, rident *leges*, non navigare, non equitare per illos licet, puto, non carere; & quæ maxima peſtis eſt *cõiugia* quoq; vt rem frivolam deteſtantur, & *humani generis propagationi* operam dandam non putant.

Huttenus.

(61) Quibuſdam canibus ſic innatum eſt, vt non pro feritate, ſed pro *conſuetudine* latrent.

Seneca.

than a (c) *single life* for him that hath the gift of Continencie, and no offence more damnable than to vow Chastitie, and to performe nothing lesse, better it were for such a one to marry with deformitie it selfe. Continencie is a deepe mysterie, and every one cannot dive into it: it is a word vpon which every one cannot lay hold; which made a Reverend (62) *Father of the Church often to pray: O Lord giue what thou Commandest, and then Commaund me what thou wilt.*

Thus ended the discourse betweene Rustico *and* Theoli *no sooner had* Theol: *made an end, but* Rustic: *steps vnto* Iurid: *and (as Country-men when they come to Towne are full of enquiries) requested him to fill vp the rest of the time they had allotted themselues to spend together, and to acquaint him as his other two friends had done, what might be the motiues to induce him to take that honourable profession of the* Law *vpon him, whose answere was as followeth.*

Iurid: Sir, I shall therein giue you all satisfaction; many indeede were the motiues that gaue me encou-courgement vnto it, but these chiefly. First, I haue often heard, and experience hath since verified it vnto me, that it is good wisedome and discretion whereseoever a man converseth and weareth out that time that is allotted him to spend vpon the earth, to know and finde out as nigh as he can the (d) *nature and disposition of the people with whom he is to converse*, and *to frame all his thoughts, words, and actions vnto theirs, so long as they doe not savour of basenes, superstition, or vnworthinesse.* As for example, if it had beene my fortune to haue lived at *Rome*, to haue put on a resolution to haue lived after the manner and custome of the *Romanes*: if in *Italy*, *Germany*, or any other of our Christian Kingdomes, to haue done the like; and if it had so fallen our, that the Religiõ which I profest

(c) Quandiu *solus* erat *Adam* nemo fælicior; mox vt *comitatus*, nemo *miserior*, *solus* beatus *civis* patriæ, *cõitatus*, infælicis exilij *peregrinus*, *solus fletit*, *comitatus* rult, *solus* in *requie* & gaudio. *comitatus* in *laboribus* & doloribus multis, *solus immortalis*, *jungo* *socium*, *mortalis*.

Petrarch.

Væ nobis, inquit, Coniux, at væ mihi cælebs,
Væ nostrum *simplex*, ergo tuúmq; duplex.

(62) Charitas deus meus, accende me; continentiã jubes; *Da domine quod jubes, & jube quod vis.*

Auguſt. *lib.* 10. *confeſſion. cap.* 29.

(d) Ad *invidiæ tela* declinanda plurimũ valet, ſi omni hominum generi, & conſuetudini, facetè & jucundè quiſpiam ſe accõmodet; dummodo *rationis & modeſtiæ* finem non tranſeat, ne cùm facetus eſſe velit, ridiculus appareat.

Caſtil. lib. 2.

Inter *leges Græcorum ſympoſiacas*, ſeu convivales, hæc fuit, vna; *aut bibe, aut abi*, quã docemur, aut obſervare mores & conſuetudines illorum cum quibus vivimus, aut diſcedere.

feſt had not ſuited with the Religion profeſt in theſe Countries, or my diſpoſitiō with the nature of the people, to haue made choyce of ſome other climate where both our Religion and diſpoſitions would haue more nearely ſympathiſed, for that which mooveth others, prevaileth not with me, for though it were mine owne natiue Country, which I muſt acknowledge I preferre before all others; and deſire (if there be any worth in me) to communicate it vnto it. Yet if my Conſcience would not permit me to obſerue the Lawes there read and taught, and the Religion there profeſſed, I would ſeeke and ſearch out ſome other Corner abroad where I might enjoy that libertie, which I could not doe at home. For I haue ever held it for a poſitive Rule, that he deſerves not to liue within the confines of a Kingdome, that will not ſubmit himſelfe to the (e) *Lawes of that Kingdome, nor to deſerue the name of a Subject, that will not ſubmit himſelfe to the Lawes of his Soveraigne.* And as the *Canoniſts* haue ever held him for a ſchiſmaticall perſon, that will not conforme himſelfe to the Eccleſiaſticall orders agreed vpon in ſolemne aſſemblies by the Reverend Fathers and Doctors of the Church, but out of a ſelfe-conceit, will ſeeme to be more wiſe than the generall Councells and Aſſemblies. So haue I ever thought him to deſerue the name of an Out-law, and to be exempt from the benefit of the Law, that will not ſubmit himſelfe vnto the Lawes. Now becauſe it is a hard thing, yea indeede impoſſible almoſt for a man to obſerue thoſe Lawes which he knoweth not; therefore did I deſire to know the (f) *Lawes of the Kingdome wherein I lived,* and thereby as a rule to frame and faſhion all my actions by. And becauſe every good thing the more common it is, a greater meaſure of vertue it containes in it: therefore was this one principall motiue wherefore I made the ſtudie thereof my profeſſion; vnto which I was the rather induced, becauſe that I had often

(63) Vnica gens ſit, et vnica mens, rex vnicus, & ſit Vnica lex, vnum fœdus, & vna fides.
Patrios ritus violare vbiq; gentium nefarium habetur.
Lipſ.
——Vir bonus eſt quis?
Qui conſulta patrum qui *leges* juráq; ſervat.

(f) Non invtile conſilium ſereniſſimi nuper regis ad Henricum nuper principem. Operam da *patrijs legibus*; nam quomodo juxta illas dices ſententiam, ſi tibi fuerint ignotæ.
Proprium eſt ſapientiæ noſſe *leges* ſecúdum quas vivimus.
Keck; lib. 2. Ethic.

often heard, and vpon inquiry I haue found it to be true, that all Lawes politicall are meere derivatives out of the primitive Law of God and Nature.

Rustic. Sir, if you could but make that appeare vnto me, I should commend your choice, and preferre your profession before all other professions, the sacred profession of divinitie onely excepted.

Iurid. To giue you satisfaction in this poynt, I will first shew vnto you what the Law of Nature is, then what the Law of God is: and lastly, how all Lawes are derived out of both those Lawes, and so conclude my Discourse. The Law of Nature, or rather the vnwritten Law of God, is a divine knowledge, to wit, reason and vnderstanding planted in the soule of man, whereby he hath (64) *dominion over the beasts of the field, the fowles of the ayre, and fishes of the Sea.* For had those *Hydra's*, Lyons and Bulles, in spilling of whose blond *Hercules* got so much honour, beene endowed and made partaker of this Law, *Hercules* could not haue gloried and triumphed in those his Victories and Conquests over them. The Law of nature to procreate and engender, they had in as ample manner dwelling and abiding in them, but because they wanted this supereminent facultie of the soule, they were as *Sampson* without his haire, and had no power to resist him. It is by the vnderstanding alone, that we haue dominiō not onely over those Buls, Beares and Tygers, that are without vs, but over our domesticke enemies, those Tygers, Wolues, and (f) *Cacodæmones, our vnruly lusts and affections that are within vs.* It is this that allayes the hot, fierie, choloricke humour, distilling into it most soueraigne coole receipts of patience and forbearance; it is this that exhilarates our dull and drowsie spirits, infusing into them her quickning precious Cordials and restoratives; that in the midst of miseries giues vs cause of ioy and merriment, and in the midst of ioy puts vs in minde of our miseries, so as in the

(64) *Ratio* perfecta proprium hominis bonum est: cætera illi cum animalibus satisq; communia sunt. Valet? celeres? formosus est? & pavones: velox est? & equi: corpus habet? & arbores. Habet impetum et motum voluntarium? & vermes, & bestiæ: habet vocem? quanto dulciorem, mobiliorémq; luscinia?

Seneca epist. 76.

(f) *Affectus* nostri sunt quidam *Cacodæmones*, & appellantur amentes Consiliarij. *Plato* in convivio *amorem*, magnum *Dæmonem*, & vehementissimam omnium perturbationum nuncupavit.

the former we be not ſo much grieued as to neglect our ſelues, & ſo grow into deſpaire; or in the latter ſo much joyed as to forget our ſelues, and ſo grow proud; it is this that moderates thoſe greedy deſires of rapacity and tenacitie, teaching vs with what we haue to be contented; not to looſe the benefit of what wee (g) *haue, in coueting that with Æſops dog we haue not*; not to envie that which another hath, becauſe he hath too much, but to content our ſelues with what we haue, becauſe we haue enough, if we haue *meate*, (h) *drinke, and cloathing*, to learne to be therewith contented, and to know that he that hath ſo much hath enough, and he that hath more, hath more than enough, not to envie our neighbour becauſe he feedes more daintily vpon more varietie of diſhes, but rather to pittie him to ſee him expoſe himſelfe to ſo great (i) *daunger for ſo little profit*, to hazard his health, his life, and all for a little pleaſure, which vaniſheth even in the throat: not to repine at his coſtly garments, but rather to ſmile at them, to ſee him as much as in him lyes, to invert the ſeaſons of the yeare, to weare ſuch thinne, cut and carved ſuits in the midſt of Winter, more fit for the heate of Summer, and to let thee know, that though thine be not ſo rich, yet they are as warme, and lined it may be with farre more contentment; and that thoſe which he weares artificially, the beaſts wore before naturally; not to murmur at his large Territories, but to conſider that as he hath more Corne and fruit, ſo he hath more (k) *thornes and briars*; Not to grudge at his honours and preferments, for he hath paid dearely for them, and ſtill groanes vnder the burthen of them; for many are the cares that accompany greatneſſe: the *tall Cedar is ſubject to ſtormes and tempeſts* on the mountaines, when the poore ſhrub lyes ſecurely in the vallyes; it is this alone that inſtructeth vs to carry our ſelues vprightly and honeſtly towards all men, to giue vnto Superiors honour and reverence, to Inferiors

(g) Vide apologum de *Phitomela & accipitre*: quo ſignificatur eos eſſe inconſultos, qui ſpe majorum quæ incerta ſunt, quæ in manibus habent, amittunt.

(h) *Victus & veſtitus* ſunt divitiæ Chriſtianorum. *Hieronymus.*

(i) Vide fabulam de *muſca*; quæ ſignificat multis *gulam* multorum malorum cauſam eſſe.

(k) Semper habet *miſeria* immenſa potentia *curas*, Anxia perpetuis *ſolicitudinibus*.

De potentum vita *Horat.*
Scirũ eſt illud *Lyrici* Poëtæ;
Sæpiùs *ventis agitatur ingẽs*
Pinus, & celſæ graviore caſu
Decidunt turres, *feriúntq;*
ſummos Fulgura montes.

Vide Apologum de *Abiete & Dumeto.*

Inferiors due respect, to equals mutuall loue and societie; not to deifie the rich because they are rich, nor to oppresse the poore because they are poore; but to esteeme of povertie clad with *honestie aboue* (l) *dishonestie clad in gold and braverie*: it is this that reades vnto vs those golden lessons of moralitie (m) *to deale with all men as we would be dealt withall*, to take no advantage of simplicitie, nor to suffer our selues to be misled by subtiltie; to be as wise as serpents, yet as *innocent as Doues*. It is this that restraines the appetite from wandring after those fading pleasures, which are let in by the casements of the bodie, the eyes, the eares, and the rest of the sences: so long as the eye listens vnto her commands it is free from those allurements and temptations by which it is so often deceived: she can picture out what beautie is, that it is a (*) *sugred poyson*, a (n) *Worme-eaten rose*, an (o) *inchanting Syren*, a (p) *venemous scorpion*, a bewitching *Circe*, a fading vanitie subject vnto age and sicknesse, and not worthie the looking after, an ornament onely when (q) *vertue is seated in the midst of it*; and no worth in it, but to adde a lustre vnto it; shee can tell it likewise that those heapes of stones so methodically piled together, the sumptuous buildings of the world, after which it so much gazeth, are but (r) *transitories, now yours, anone his, presently after anothers*, good onely for recreation, evill for habitation, good to recreate our selues withall, while we wander as Pilgrimes vpon the face of the earth, evill to settle our affections vpon, *instruments of good* (s) *to those that are good*, but *instruments of evill* to those that are evill, producing in the one the effects of liberalitie, hospitalitie, and bountie, in the other of ambition, oppression, and all manner of licentiousnesse, therefore not to be neglected as if there

(l) Omne tempus feret *Clodios*, non omne *Catones*.
Catilinam
Quocúnq; in populo videas, quocúnq; sub axe,
Sed nec *Brutus* erit, *Bruti* nec *avunculus* vsq;.
Pulchra hæc laudatio ô *virum doctum*; sed illa melior, ô *virum sapientem*; et illa optima, ô *virum bonum*.
Si quicquid rarum charum est pretiumq; meretur;
Crede mihi, res est, *vir*, pretiosa, *bonus*.

(m) Hoc adeò *Ethnico Alexandro Severo Imperatori* placuisse dicitur, vt in palatijs præscribi juberet, quò omnium oculis expositum esset, & cum aliquem castigaret, per præconem edici iubebat; *Quod tibi fieri non vis alteri nefeceris*.

(*) Est *mel* internâ concludens parte *venenum*;

(n) Est *flos* arcano portans in cortice *vermem*;

(o) Est *Syren* capiens verbis fallacibus *aures*;

(p) Est fallax blandam prætendens *Scorpio* caudam.
Formosus ille *Domitianus* amico scribens, ita scripsit: scias, nec gratius quicquam decore, nec levius, neq; tantum gaudij *veniens* tulit, quãtum *fugiens* fert *doloris*.

(q) Gratior est virtus veniens è *corpore pulchro*.

(r) Me proprium nunc *iste* putat, propriũ *ille* putabat,
Ast ego nullius sum nisi *sortis* ager.
Morus.

(s) Gold guilds *the* vertuous, *and is lends them wings*, *To raise their thoughts* vnto the rarest things.
But with the same the wicked never mell, *But to doe service to the* hags of hell. *Bartas*.
Crates olim divitias multorum assimilavit ijs ficubus quæ in altis montibus nascuntur, è quibus homo fructum non accepit, sed *corvi & milvi*. (i) scortatores & adulatores. *Lips: lib. 4. polit.*

were

were no worth in thē, yet not to be regarded as though there were no worth without them, but to eſteeme them as good ſervants when they meete with good Maiſters. So long as the eare liſtens vnto her Commaunds, yet is free from thoſe inticing (65) *Sycophants that doe ſo often applaud when there is juſt cauſe of reproofe*, proclaime peace and ſafetie when the enemy is at hand, friendly foes the greateſt enemies to a Common wealth. So long as the (66) *taſte liſtens vnto her Commaunds, it is free from thoſe allurements by which ſhe is ſo often beguiled*, ſhe can tell it that the purchaſe is but ſmall, the price great, the pleaſure appearing in the palate, and vaniſhing in the throte, the paine oftentimes throughout every part and member of the bodie; So long as the ſmell liſtens vnto her Commaunds, it is free from the tortures and torments of the head, ſhe can tell it that thoſe many ſweet odors that it ſo ſucks in, doe not ſo much content the noſtrill as offend the braine. So long likewiſe as the touch liſtens vnto her Commaunds, ſhee can tell it that the dumbe Creatures, the Buls, the Beares, the Apes farre ſurpaſſe it in the delight thereof; it is this that hath a cure for every maladie, that can in all degrees and conditions of life, adminiſter matter of joy and comfort vnto thee; if thou be of meane ranke and degree in the place where thou liveſt, this can tell thee that they who haue had the moſt glorious and ſpecious titles of honour, haue beene blurred with the moſt ignominious blots and ſtaines of diſhonour, and although thou haſt not that reſpect which they had, yet thou haſt not thoſe defects which they had, if thou live in a poore eſtate, this can tell thee that the riches of many a man haue beene the ruines of many a man, & that it matters not though thou be not ſo rich as *Cræſus*, if thou be not ſo poore as *Lazarus*: if thou haſt had many loſſes and Croſſes, this can tell thee, that they who haue governed Kingdomes in the morning, haue beene foot-ſtooles in the evening,

(65) Qui *fronte polita*
Aſſutam vapido ſervant ſub pectore vulpem.
Perſ:

Introrſum turpes, ſpecioſi pelle decorâ.

(66) Vide fabulam de *muſcis*. In cella quadam, melle effuſo *muſcæ* advolantes comedebant; implicitis autem earum pedibus evolare non poterant; quùm verò ſuffocarentur, dicebant, miſeræ nos, quia ob *muſcam* cibum perimus.

and that ſuch as haue maintained thouſands, haue beene glad to (t) *beg for livelihood*: if thou be troubled with weakneſſe and infirmitie of bodie, this can tell thee that it is the beſt Schoolemaiſter to teach thee to know thy ſelfe, and the beſt perſpective to diſcover vnto thee the way to eternall bliſſe and happineſſe, which the interpoſition of pleaſures and delights would keepe from thee. If thou be troubled with a froward wife, or diſobedient childe, this can tell thee that *Socrates* had his *Xantippe*, and (*) *Auguſtus* his *Iulia*, the one a froward wife, the other a diſobedient childe: if thou liue in a kinde of exile and baniſhment, and art compelled for thy Conſcience ſake to forſake thy Country, thy wife and children, and the poſſeſſions which thou and thy forefathers for many yeares enjoyed, this can tell thee that (u) *Themiſtocles baniſhment and degradation was a preferment and exaltation vnto him*, and that he had beene vndone, if he had not beene vndone: if thou haſt not that abundant meaſure of knowledge which others haue, this can tell thee that wiſedome conſiſteth not in Contemplation but in action, not in diſputation but in converſation, not in much knowledge, but in an honeſt and vertuous life. If thou haue not that outward comely feature in thy limbs and lineaments of thy body, which others haue, this can tell thee, that *God gives not to every one* (w) *every thing*, though the Peacocke be the faireſt, and moſt beautifull of birds, yet the little Nightingale farre ſurpaſſeth her in her tunes and notes; though the Aſſe, the Elephant, and the Cammell, are the ſtrongeſt of beaſts for burthen, yet the little Fox ſurpaſſeth them in wilineſſe and ſubtiltie; though the (67) *Crow*

(t) Philip Commines *ſaith, that he once ſaw a* Duke of Exet. *beg his bread* from dore to dore *in the Duke of* Burgundies Court. Phil. Commin: lib. 3. cap. 4. *This Duke married the* Lady Anne, *the daughter of* Richard Plant. *Duke of* Yorke, *and ſiſter to King* Edw: the fourth: *his Father was* Earle of Huntingd: *and* Duke of Exet. Earle of Ibery *in* Normandie, *and* Lord de la Spar, *Admirall of* England *and* Ireland, *and Conſtable of the Tower of* London.

Sapienter *Demetrius Phalereus* vitam ſecuram, & ſine vllis fortunæ incurſionibus mare mortuũ vocabat: neq; deſunt, qui fortunatiorem *Alexandrum* putârunt, ſi fortunæ faciem ſæviétis aliquando vidiſſet: Et *Scipio* extinctis Carthaginenſibus, rempublicam Romanam majore in diſcrimine fore adverſus *Catonem* contendebat.

Ad hoc ſacramentum adacti ſumus (ait *Seneca*) ferre mortalia, nec perturbari his quæ vitare noſtræ poteſtatis non eſt: in regno nati ſumus, deo parere libertas.

(x) Sit fælix & magnus *Cæſar* & verè *Auguſtus*, ſed filiam tamen *Iuliam* habet, & vxorem & neptem, & horum tædio quotidianâ inediâ mori veller, nec poſſet.

Lipſ: lib. 1. de Conſtanc.

(u) *Periſſemus niſi periſſemus*, fuit dictum *Themiſtoclis*, cum

munera exul à rege magnifica cõſequutus eſt. (w) Pro Dodonæo oraculo habendum eſt quod *Ariſtot* dixit; *vbi mens; lurima & ratio, ibi fortuna minima*; & *vbi plurima fortuna, ibi mens perexigua.* Ariſt. lib. 1. Metaph.

Non datur vt rebus perceſſit in omnibus vnus. Vide fabulam de *pavone. Angelus in penna, pede latro, voce gehenna.* Non omnes *Catones*, aut *Scipiones*, aut *Lælij* poſſumus eſſe. *Cicero.*

(67) Altera me in terris non eſt *ſacundior ales*, Tu me plus *loqueris*, plus ego *ſcribo* tamen; de Cornicula & Anſere. *Ovenus.*

and

and Parrat prate moſt, yet the Gooſe and Gander write moſt; ſo that where there is crookednesse in the bodie, there may be vprightneſſe in the heart, where there is weakneſſe in the body, there may be ſtrength in the braine, and where there is a defect in the tongue to ſpeake, there may be a dexterity in the hand to write. If thou be come of meane parentage, this can tell thee how that the moſt (x) *Noble Princes haue ſprung from meane beginnings.* How *Tamerlaine* from a hogheard became to be King of the *Scythians*: how *Theodoſius* from an Inholder, *Bonoſus* from the ſonne of a Schoolemaiſter, and *Valentinian* from the ſonne of a Rope-maker to be Emperours. How *Telephantes* from a Chariot-maker to rule over the *Lydians*. How *Agathocles* from the ſhop of a Potter to governe over the *Sicilians*. How *Hiberbolus* from the ſonne of a Chaundler to governe the *Athenians*. How *Virgill* from the plow, *Horace* from a Cryer in the Citie, and *Cato* from a poore Cottage in *Tuſcaine*, to purchaſe their Princes favour: and that they who now ſtand ſo much vpon their pedigrees, and vpon termes of honour, were ſometimes as (y) *meane as thou art, and may in the next age end where they began.* If the plague and peſtilence hath made thy Countrey deſolate, this will tell thee that thou oughteſt not to murmur and repine, but to thanke God that he hath dealt more mildly with thee, than he did with the *Iſraelites* in the dayes of King *David*, or with the *Grecians* in the dayes of *Michael Duca*, when the living were ſcant able to bury the dead, or with the *Romanes* in the dayes of *Iuſtinian*, or with the *Italians* in the dayes of *Petrarch*, when (as he affirmeth being that Country-man) amongſt a thouſand there lived not ten. If an enemy hath made an invaſion and inrode into thy Country, this will tell thee, that thou oughteſt not to complaine of the miſeries of the time, but to thanke God that he hath not permitted him to triumph over thee as (*) *Cato did ſometimes*

(x) *Iuvenalis* quidam glorianti de ſua origine ſic ait.
Majorum primus quiſquis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut paſtor fuit, aut illud, quod dicere nolo;
Malo pater tibi ſit *Therſites*, dum modò tu ſis
Æacida ſimilis, vulcaniáq; arma capeſſas,
Quàm te *Therſiti* ſimilem producat *Achilles*.
Iuven.

(y) *Origo cunctorum vna eſt*, vnus parens humani generis, vnus fons vniverſorum, qui viciſſim modò turbidus, modò nitidus, ad vnumquémq; noſtrûm pervenit: hinc eſt vt qui heri clarus, hodiè obſcurus fiat; et qui heri per medias vrbes ſtrenuum Cornipedē, aureis haberis inceſſerat; hodiè per ſqualérem campū, pigros boves humili pugone ſollicitet. *Petrarch.*

(*) *Plutar.* in *Catone.*
Cæſar fatetur & quidem glorians, vndecies centena & nonaginta duo millia hominum prælijs a ſe occiſa.
Quintum Fabium ferunt centum decem *Gallorum* millia.
Caium Marium ducenta *Cymbriorum* occidiſſe.
Lipſius lib. 2. de Conſt.

times in Spaine, when he boasted that he woon more Cities, than he had beene dayes there, nor to kill and destroy, as *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, *Quintus Fabius*, and *Caius Marius* sometimes did. If a famine hath over-spread thy Country, this can tell thee, that thou oughtest not to repine, but to thanke God that thy wants are not so great as were the wants of the (*) *Romaines vnder Honorius, when as the flesh of man was set to sale, as if it had beene the flesh of Sheepe and Oxen:* or was the scarcitie in *Italie* in the dayes of *Iustinian*, when as in the Country of *Pysa* fiftie thousand perished for want of food, and when as the excrements of men were thought to be good food and nourishment. So that it is the vnderstanding that is all in all, that can as well search into things remote and placed in the (68) *furthest parts of the world, as of things present and at hand.* That can in an instant climbe vp into heaven and behold *Orion* and the *Pleiades*, *Aquilo* and *Boreas*, *Phosphorus*, and *Vesper*, much distant one from another. That can on a suddaine descend into the Center of the earth, and in an instant walke the Circumference, passe through the foure parts of the world, discover the qualitie and the condition of the people together, with their severall Lawes, Customes, and manner of Government; tell vs by what meanes the great and flourishing Nations of the world haue attained vnto so much growth and stature, and by what meanes againe they haue come to ruine and destruction; how this man atchieved vnto so much honour, how that to so much detestation and hatred. How *Rome* became so rich, How *Carthage* so poore: how *Cæsar* so great; how *Pompey* so meane: by the example of the one to follow and pursue, by the example of the other to flie and avoyde.

(*) Sub *Honorio Imperatore Romæ tanta raritas & caritas annonæ omnis, vt homines hominibus jam immanerent, & in Circo palàm audita est hæc vox: pone pretium humanæ carni.* *Lipsi.*

(68) *It is this that in the twinkling of an eye, Through all the heavenly Provinces doth flie.*

Rustic. How commeth it to passe, that nature having so excellent a servant, that shee cannot haue her rights and Ceremonies more duely performed vnto her; that the

the bodie in ſtead of ſour dnes in every part, ſhould produce nothing els but Apoplexies, Gowts, Dropſies, racking diſeaſes of the ſtone, and infinite other infirmities: and that the minde in ſtead of firme and ſetled reſoluti-ons, ſhould yeeld nothing els but wavering and wandring conceits and imaginations.

Iurid: Sir, your queſtion cannot be better anſwered than by the ſollicitation of the two women, the one chaſt, the other a ſtrumpet, that ſet vpon *Hercules*. *Hercules* in the prime of his youth intending ſome noble atchievements, and thereby to raiſe an (x) *immortall fame vnto himſelfe*, was ſet vpon by a harlot, who ſollicited him in manner following. Sir, it doth not become a man of your qualitie to vndergoe adventures, to be ever climing the ſteepie craggie Mountaines, and never come to the top of them; to be by *Boreas* toſt to and fro both by Sea and Land in continuall daunger of death, advẽtures fit for ſuch as haue nothing els but their lives to looſe, but as for you that haue a paradiſe bequeathed vnto you vpon earth, to be rolling *Siſyphus*-ſtone, to be climing vp the ſteepie mountains, when you may walke in the greene paſtures, to expoſe your ſelfe to the heate of Summer, & cold of Winter, when you may be walking in your ſhady groves, or in your warme houſe, to be an *Atropos* to your ſelfe, to pull ruine and deſtruction vpon your owne head, when you may ſleepe ſecurely, ſhot-free, environed with the loue of your friends; it is a wilfull vanitie in my opinion: which the chaſt woman hearing, thus replyes; (69) *Beware of her; and of her Counſels*, I haue knowne her long & many of her friends and favourites, but never knew any but ruine and deſtruction was the end of them; they were not like other people, but monſters in nature, (a) *old when they ſhould haue beene young, and young when they ſhould haue been old; tortured with old weake and craſie bodies in the midſt of their youth, and troubled with idle, vaine, and childiſh imagina-*

(x) Stat ſua cuiq; dies, breve & irreparabile tempus Omnibus eſt vitæ: ſed *famã extendere factis*

Hoc virtutis opus. Virg.

Exiguum nobis vitæ curriculum natura circumſcripſit, *immenſum gloria*; nam ſi memoria bene redditæ vitæ non eſſet longior, quàm hæc vita, quis eſſet tam amens, qui maximis laboribus et periculis ad ſummam laudem gloriámq; contenderet?

Cicero.

Xenophon de factis & dictis *Socratis*. lib. 2.

(69) Nulla fides veneri, *levis eſt*, interq; planetas Ponitur, haud inter ſydera fixa *venus*.

(a) Qui ſunt in uno ſodalitio *invenes* quidem *debili* corpore, *ſenes multo animo*; quos vt pudet anteactæ vitæ, ita præſenibus onuſti malis gravantur.

Xenoph:

Ntequities vitæ non finit eſſe ſenem.

Libidinoſa & intemperans adoleſcentia effætum corpus tradit ſenectuti.

Cicero.

tions in the declining time of age. And as for you and your progenitors, I haue knowne you and them long alſo, they were ſober, learned, and wiſe, and the world hath taken ſpeciall notice of them for all theſe, and for you to make your ſelfe a baſtard, that was ſo truely borne, the (b) *Poets would deſcant and make rymes vpon you*; not to excell them would be ſome diſparagement, but not parallell them, would be an infamie vnto you. Sir, you know, that there is nothing to be had vpon earth, but by labour and (c) *induſtrie, theſe are the keyes that open the gate to fame and renowne*, and the only coyne that paſſeth currant there. If *Cæſar had ſlept and beene ruled by her precepts, his name had beene extinguiſht with his Carkaſſe long before this time.* And the *Romanes* would haue had no cauſe to haue trivmphed in this their valiant Champion for his noble atchievemẽts againſt *Pompey* in the *Pharſalian* fields. If *Alexander* had done the like, the world would haue had more Monarkes than one, and the *Macedonians* had no cauſe to glory in him, it was his induſtry that raiſed him, his ſecuritie that overthrew him. Experience teacheth vs, that if wee doe expect any thing from our friends, that it is fit that wee doe endeare them vnto vs by ſome noble (d) *engagements from them*; if from our Country, that wee ſhould deſerve ſomething of our Country; gold is not tryed but by fire, nor valour diſcovered but by daunger; it is action which produceth vertue, the ſtanding water ſavours ſtrongly, when the running water ſmels ſweetly; the earth tilled brings forth Corne, when as lying barren, it brings forth nothing but nettles and brambles. It is not ſufficient for you to eate, drinke, and ſleepe,

(b) *Fabula vos eſtis juvenúmq; ſenúmq; tabernis*
Et trivijs, & vos garrula ludit anus.

(c) Nulla ſine difficultatibus gloria, *nulla non virtus in excelſo habitat*, haud facilè adeunda, confragoſum huic durúmq; eſt iter. *Labor Romulcos duces, Scipiadas, & Camillum*; labor *Fabios*; labor *Curios*; labor *Fabritium*, & *Metellos*; labor magnũ *Pompeium*; labor *Hamibalem*; labor *Iulium Cæſarem* quoq; illuſtravit. *Petrarch.*

(d) Eſt commune proverbium Anglicanum.
Firſt deſerue, then deſire.

Nihil eorum quæ bona ſunt dant hominibus dij *ſine labore & cura*, verùm ſi deos tibi propitios eſſe velis, colendi ſunt vtiq; dij: ſi ab amicis diligi optes, amicis eſt benefaciendum: ſi à quapiam ciritate honorari deſideres; ei vitaei aliqua vtilitas adferenda eſt: ſi à tota Græcia ob virtutem in admiratione eſſe velis, conaberis toti Græciæ benefacere: ſi vt tibi terra fructus producat; terra tibi colenda eſt: ſi iumentis divitias acquirere animus tibi ſit, iumentorum tibi cura adhibẽda eſt: ſi rebus in bello geſtis clarus haberi cupias, amicos quidem à ſervitute liberando, inimicos verò in ſervitutem redigendo animum intendere oportet; ſi velles corporis valere robore, corpus aſſuefieri oportet, vt animi conſilio pareat, vtq; laboribus & ſudoribus exerceatur. *Hercules labores. Diod. Sicul lib. 4. rerum antiquarum.* *Xenoph: lib. 2. de factis & dictis* Socratis.

Penelopem ſemper præſtes, modò tempore vincas, — Non iuvat *ex facili* lecta corona iugo.
Gubernator in tempeſtate dignoſcitur — Capta vides ſerò *Pergama*, capta tamen.
Enitet in medijs fruendia terta periclis, — In acie miles probatur.
Mille inter lethi facies; ſine ſanguine parta, — Et ſequitur claras virtus animoſa coronas.
In deepeſt perills ſhineth wiſedomes prime, — Ductori ſterilem properat victoria laudem.
Conqueſt yeelds but little honur, — *Through thouſand deaths, true valour ſeekes to climbe.*
If bloudy danger doe not waite vpon her. Bartas.

and ſo paſſe away. Such Lectures *Epicurus* read many yeares agoe to his *Bacchanalian*-belly-gods, not fit for *Hercules* the ſonne of *Iupiter* to learne. You were borne to greater matters, there is a Lyon in *Nemæa*, a Hydra in the fennes of *Lerna*, a Bore in *Arcadia*, Centaures, Harts to be vanquiſht, *Stymphalides* to be killed, *Augæa* hath an Oxeſtall, *Creta* hath a Bull, *Thracia* hath a *Diomedes*, *Spaine* a *Geryon*, *Theſeus* and *Pirithous* are to be reſcued from *Cerberus*; and golden Apples are to be fetcht out of the garden of the *Heſperides*, and the Dragon to be ſurpriſed. Theſe are labours fit for you to adventure vpon, beſides theſe, you haue Children, to whom God and nature enjoyneth you to giue good enſample by a vertuous life and converſation. You haue friends, kindred, & acquaintance, whoſe eyes are much vpon you, and expect from you in ſome degree labours to ſurmount the ordinarie pitch of common people: laſtly, you haue a ſoule compoſed of a divine, pure and immortall ſubſtance, and now is the time to furniſh it, to behave your ſelfe like the ſonne of ſo great a Father; that when age, and ſickneſſe, and death approach, and friends and kindred and acquaintance faile, the ſweete (*e*) *remembrance of thoſe many noble victories, which you in your youth haue atchieved vnto, may then ſolace and reuive you*, and waite vpon you to the (*f*) *Elyſian fields*, there to receive your reward with the Captaines, Souldiers, and noble Heroicke ſpirits of the world. With theſe and the like prevalent perſwaſions, the chaſt woman at laſt prevailed. So that aptly may I compare the vnderſtanding vnto the Chaſt woman: vnto whoſe Commaunds ſo long as the ſences are obſequious, ſo long God and nature haue their rites and ceremonies duely performed, but when they are directed and guided by the will and appetite, then they are excluded and debarred of the things which belong vnto them: wherefore may the will and appetite fitly be compared to a

(*e*) Dulce quidem eſt nonnunquam *amara* recordari. Nam demulcent animum tranſmiſſa pericula.
Hæc olim meminiſſe iuvabit
——Iuvat evaſiſſe tot vrbes Argolicas, medióſq; fugam tenuiſſe per hoſtes.
Virg.

(*f*) *Tibullus* Poëticâ quadam ſuavitate *Camporum Elyſiorũ* voluptates ſic deſcribit.
Hic *Ovea*, cantúſq; vigent, paſſimq; vagantes
Dulce ſonant tenui gutture carmen *aves*.
Fert *Caſiam* non culta ſeges, totóſq; per agros
Floret odoriferis terra benigna roſis.
Ac juvenum ſeries teneris immiſta puellis
Ludit, et aſſiduè prælia miſcet *amor*.

(*g*) *y bawde*

(70) Lernam non potuit, potuit superare Leonem; Quem fera non valuit vincere, vicit bera. Ouum de Hercule.

(70) *bawde or strumpet, who by seeming pleasures and tickling delights,* which appeare and vanish in an instant, withdraw the affections of the best affected husbands from their beloved bosome bed-fellowes.

Rustic: But how commeth it to passe, that the will and appetite should so much covet and thirst after those things which tend to ruine and destruction.

Irid: Sir, your question hath beene much Controverted amongst the auncient Academicks of natures Schoole, and the Doctors haue beene much distracted about it; some haue beene so presumptuous as to lay the fault vpon *Iupiter* himselfe, and to say that he hath two Tubs, the one a Cabinet for vertues, the other a cage for vncleannes, and that when it seemes good vnto him, he doth distribute vnto one, justice, wisedome, temperance, and fortitude, and to another folly, pusillanimitie and intemperance; but the most wise and discreete among them, haue accused and condemned this as a fault of high presumption, and haue affirmed, that as well might they maintain that the Lyons might produce Elephants, Elephants Beares & Wolves; the earth that which is proper to the heavens, and the heavens that which is proper to the earth, as that the fountaine and source of goodnesse should produce any thing, but that which is good. Others haue imputed it to the Constellatiõs & Planets vnder which they were borne, but this hath beene rejected likewise as a paradoxe: for as well might they maintaine that order might produce confusion, as the Sunne, Moone, and Starres, that keepe their constant courses any such effect: others to their naturall temper and inclination, but this the whole body of nature hath cõdemned as erroneous, for as it is in the great sublunary world, consisting of reasonable, sensitiue, and vegetative Creatures, the inferior readily submit themselues to the superior, the vegetative to the sensitive, the sensitive to the rationall, and all to maintaine and

and vphold that great bodie; So it is in the Epitome or (g) *little world* comprehended in man, the (h) *mouth readily performes her office,* becomes the gate to let in food and sustenance, the palate the instrument to try & touch it, the stomacke to chilifie it, the mesuraicke veines to waft it to the Liver, the Liver to die it into sanguine, and through the great and maine Ocean, the *Vena Cava* to convey the vertue thereof to the rest of the parts of the bodie: so readie is every part and member of this little world to doe their rites and services to each other. So that in the naturall inclination it cannot be, for that (71) *nature doth ever incline to that which tends to the preservation of it,* and the will to destruction, others to nurture and education, but this likewise hath beene rejected; for although these great Doctors did attribute much to education, and knew well that with what liquor the (i) *vessell is first seasoned, it will ever rellish thereof;* that the *earth brings forth fruit according to the nature of the* (72) *seede;* that *we gather not grapes of thornes or figs of thistles;* yet because there was not the best *Aristotelian, Platonist,* or best proficient in natures Schoole, that could performe and pay vnto her what of right did belong vnto her, therefore it could not be for want of nurture and education. Thus did the Philosophers long weary themselues in searching after this mysterie, vntill at last they found it out, they found that (73) *nature was corrupted,* that the light of knowledge which shined in them more cleare then *Hesperus* was eclipsed, ignorance and errour was induced, and by a custome made another nature: which made some of them both to admire and pittie the nature and condition of man, when they saw how the * *eyes whose proper objects are the heavēs*

(g) Dicitur *homo* μικροκόσμος, quia est vniversi orbis *Epitome,* seu abbreviata mundi tabella; nam continet in se quatuor elementa et omnes mundi virtutes.

(h) Duo sunt *oris* precipue vsus; vnus, vt per illud cibus sumatur, alter vt teratur, & in ventriculū ad vitam sustentandam trajiciatur; in hunc finem duobus dentium ordinibus, quasi duabus molis munitur, quibus cibus teratur. Nam vt in molendino a duabus molis granum cōteritur, ita est in homine; nisi quod in molendino inferior stat, superior movetur, contrarium in homine.

(71) Scaliger *reports of a* Tree *growing in a Province called* Pudefatamia, *that if a man come aneere it, it will pull in her boughes, and as soone as he goes away, it will put them forth again; and therefore is called the shamefast tree. And* Arist. *reports of the* Spongies, *that if a man put forth his hand to take them, they shrinke together on a heape and vnite their forces; which are evident proofes of that natural ingrafted desire in all things to preserue their being.*

(i) Quo semel est imbuta recens servabit odorem
Testa diu. *Horat.*

(72) Est in juvencis, est in equis, patrum
Virtus, neq; imbellē feroces
Progenerāt aquilæ Columbam.

(73) Adam *by his fall lost both forme and fashion:*

His rosie cheekes are changed to earthen hewe,
His trare-drowned eyes, a night of Clouds beayms,
His fayuting knees with feeblenesse are humble,
His dying bodie drops an icie dewe:
About his eares a buzzing horror swims:
His faultring feete doe slide away and stumble.
Bartas.

(*) Os homini sublime dedit. *Ovid.*

Iye groveling vpon the earth: how the eares liſten after nothing more than enchaunting charmes of Syrens: how the (*) *noſtrils ſavour nothing more than turpie lucre:* how the touch and taſte nothing more than what is prohibited; how the tongue whoſe vſuall tune and tone was to warble out prayſes and prayers, ſpues and vomits out nothing but oaths, execrations, and blaſphemies, how the hands the inſtruments of charitie, are become the inſtruments of extortion & oppreſſion, how the very vitall parts are corrupted, how the heart the receptacle of honeſtie and integritie, is become a cage of vncleannes: how the Liver that was vſed to ſend forth nothing but pure, cleare, & ſanguine bloud, diſtills nothing but wateriſh, cholericke, and melancholicke bloud: how the ſpirits ſometimes agile, nimble and quicke, are become dead, and dull, and voyde of life: how every part of man is altered and changed from that which ſometimes it was: how after the example of their great Lord and Maiſter, the inanimate Creatures haue revolted, how the ayre forſakes her proper ſtation, and vnnaturally deſcends into the Cranies of the earth, and cauſeth a generall ague in the whole body of the ſublunarie world; how the fire breakes out in rebellion, waſts & conſumes the very dwelling of her great Lord and Maiſter; how the (74) *earth in ſtead of fruit brings forth thornes and thiſtles,* and a thouſand filthy foggie fumes and vapours; how the foure Rivers *Ganges, Tygris, Euphrates,* and *Nilus,* in ſtead of watering and refreſhing the garden of their Maiſter, drowne and overwhelme it; how all things generally haue loſt much of their worth and goodneſſe, which ſometimes they had. So that the Heathens by the glimmering light of nature which remained in them, did poynt in a manner at the fall of man. So much ſatisfaction doe they that had no other Academie than natures Schoole giue vnto you, but he that is the meaneſt Diſciple in the Schoole of Chriſt,

(*) Bonus odor lucri exre qualibet.

(74) *The fallen envious earth*
From blackeſt cells of her foule breſt, ſends forth
A thouſand foggie fumes,
which every where,
With cloudie miſts heavens criſtall front beſmeare.
Bartas.

Christ, that had not onely nature for his guide which they had, but grace which they wanted, can fully resolve you: that in the beginning it pleased the Creator of heaven and earth to stampe in man his owne image and picture, to giue vnto him which was denyed to all other Creatures, a divine, pure, and immortall essence, a soule endowed with many rare and admirable faculties; heaven and earth to hold at will, together with a free vse of all the Creatures, both of the fowles of the ayre, and fishes of the sea, and of all the Creatures that walke vpon the face of the earth, both sensitive and vegetative, onely amongst the vegetative reserving vnto himselfe a little Tree, enjoyning him vpon a strict penaltie, that he should not dare to adventure vpon it, being a fruit provided for his owne palate; but he not contented with those things, which were so freely granted him, coveted after those things which were excepted; wherefore God in justice for his disobedience entred vpon the whole, yet dealt not with him as he had deserved, but out of his abundant goodnes and favour vnto him regrants the same, but vpon other termes and conditions than before; for whereas before the earth of her selfe yeelded her encrease without any plowing or sowing; whereas before he had an (k) *vnderstanding more cleare than the morning starre*, whereby he was able to discerne in himselfe the summe and scope of all those sacred Bookes which haue beene since written of the knowledge of Arts and Sciences, of the heaven and of the earth, of naturall and morall Philosophie by the holy Prophets, Apostles, and Evangelists, by the reverend Fathers and Doctors of the Church, and by the learned Sages and Moralists of the world; whereas his will before was guided by his vnderstanding, and the appetite and the rest of the affections never exceeded the rules of reason, the case is now altered, the earth will no more yeeld her encrease of her selfe; he must not now eat be-

(k) Antequam peccâsset Adam, *anima erat rationalis, perfecta & beata*, corpus habens, non quale nos habemus fragile, ac mortale sed quale cõgruebat tali animæ, quæ nondum in se Dei similitudinem corruperat; posteà verò cum peccavit, anima rationalis cupiditate corrupta est, corpus habens quale nunc habemus.

Augustl.

O too too happie had that fall of thine,
Not cancelled so the Character divine.

Bartas.

Knowledge was then the soules soule: for light,
The spirits sport, and lanthorne shining bright.
But now our knowledge hath for tedious traine,
A drooping life, an ever-racking braine.
A face forlorne, a sad, a sullen fashion,
A restlesse toyle, and carelesse pining passion.

Bartas.

The mightie world did seeme an instrument,
True-strung, well tuned, and handled excellent.
——But now for melodie
Of warbling charmes, it yeelds most lyderously.

(75) *Our affections are aptly compared to the sword which Hector gaue Ajax; which so long as he vsed against his enemies, serued for his defence, but when he began to abuse it to the hurt of harmelesse creatures, then it turned into his owne bowels.*

(l) Quis scribit in cordibus hominum naturalem legem nisi deus? De qua Apostolus ait; cùm enim *gentes quæ legem non habent, naturaliter, quæ legis sunt, faciunt*; hi legem non habentes sibi sunt lex, qui ostendunt opus legis scriptũ in cordibus suis, contestante conscientiâ eorum, & inter se invicem excusante vel accusante in die quo judicabit deus occulta hominum. *Augustin.*

Et idem *Augustin* manu formatoris in cordibus nostris veritas scripsit. *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.* Hoc & antequã lex daretur, nemo ignorare permissus est, vt esset vnde judicaretur etiam ex quibus lex non est data, sed ne sibi homines aliquid defuisse quererentur, scriptum est etiam in tabulis.

(m) Nihil aliud in *Concilio Pontifex Romano* credibile est in tot congerendis legũ centonibus, quàm vt plurimos *Canonicis* suis *articulis* irretitos teneret, quò vberior fructus ei ex dispensationibus accresceret.

Vide in præmio ad reformationẽ legũ Ecclesiasticarũ.

fore he hath sweat for it, labour and paines must now be his rent, or els he cannot enjoy the enheritance; the vnderstanding which was sometimes like *Argus*, Eagle-ey'd and cleare sighted, is now become like *Polyphemus*, darke and obscure; the will and the (75) *affections, which sometimes were as obedient as a servant, are now become as disobedient as a rebell*: all things are now out of order: and all by reason of the fall and transgression of our first Parents. So you may see the reason plainely wherefore the will and appetite doe so much desire that which tends to ruine and destruction.

Rustic: Sir, it should seeme then that man by his fall is in worse case than the bruit Creatures, the birds of the ayre, and the beasts of the field; for they naturally desire nothing which tends to their ruine and destruction.

Irid: It is true. If God out of his abundant grace and favour towards him had not had compassiõ of him, he had beene in worse case indeede, for that he had subjected himselfe by his fall to an eternall death and punishment, from which the bruit Creatures are exempt; but it pleased the Almightie to send his onely begotten Sonne to helpe him vp againe, and to Epitomise the first vnwritten Lawes that were in his (l) *Creation planted in his soule, which he by his fall had slubbered and defaced*, and to deliver them vnto him by his servant *Moses*, to the intent that he might lay hold of them, and reprint them in his soule againe, and so be raised and remitted to his former inheritance.

Rustic: What were those Lawes which were delivered vnto *Moses*?

Irid: You may partly know what they are, by telling you what they are not; they are not those *Canonicall Bookes of Law which were sent from* (m) *Rome, like those of Dionysius Syracusa as gyns to entrap the world*, nor the Ceremoniall Levitticall Lawes, for those are abrogated, but

but the diuine morall Lawes which God was pleaſed to deliver vpon the Mount vnto *Moſes*, ſhort, perſpicuous, and pithie, Ten words, comprehending Ten Commandements.

Ruſtic: Were the Lawes that were firſt infuſed into the ſoule of man ſo much defaced, that he ſhould neede a remembrancer to put him in minde of his Creator? or was any man ever ſo ſottiſh and ſtupide as not to beleeve and acknowledge the true and ever-liuing God to be his God and Creator.

Iurid: The wiſeſt of the Heathens did by the (n) *creatures in the ſublunarie world*, which *Antonius Eremita called his Bookes*, readily know and acknowledge that it could not be, but there muſt be ſome predominant power that did guide and governe them. All the *Sibylls* did acknowledge one abſolute God; the *Turkes* doe the like; and *Pythagoras* in deriſion and defiance of Idoll-Gods, was vſed to ſay, that if there be any one that dare preſume to ſay, that he is God beſides one, let him build ſuch another world and I will beleeue him. Nay the *Sibylls* waded ſo farre, that they beleeved the reſurrection, and could ſay, that if in a (o) *bird voyde of reaſon* the ſame doth ſo manifeſtly appeare; if the *Phœnix* did ſo conſtantly every fiue hundred yeares flie into *Ægypt*, and there voluntarily burne her ſelfe into aſhes, became a worme, and after tooke vpon her, her owne ſhape againe, and flew into *Arabia*, why ſhould man make any doubt or ſcruple of his? Yet notwithſtanding, I finde there were ſome that worſhipped and adored the Creature in ſtead of the Creator; erecting according to their imaginations and phantaſies, Gods as they pleaſed. I finde the *Ammonites* and *Moabites* running after *Moloch*; the *Shekemites* after *Baal Berith*; the *Chaldeans* after the God of *Nabor*; others after *Baal Peor*, *Baal Tsephon*, *Baalzebub*, and all but one *Baal*; others after *Iupiter Capitolinus*, *Iupiter Pluuius*, *Iupiter Lucretius*, *Iupiter Altitonans*,

(n) *Inuiſibilia dei à condito mundo ex rebus factis conſpiciuntur*; æterna (ſcil.) ejus potentia, tum æternitas. *Rom.* 1. 20.

Hic liber eſt cuius ſpatioſa volumina claris
Oſtentant impreſſa notis præclara magiſtri.
Paginæ quæq; genus rerum eſt, & prima character
Orſa refert; pulchrâ ſortitus ab vngue figuram.
The world's a booke in folio] *printed all,*
With Gods great workes in letters capitall;
Each creature is a page, and each effect,
A faire character, voyde of all defect. Ba tas.

Non eſt mutæ (ſecundum *Socratem*) ſed animadvertentibus, vndiquáq; loquax eſt rerũ natura; et multa docetur eius contemplator, ſi attentè perlegerit rerum creatarum librũ, cuius characteres ſunt ſydera, elementa, & quæ miſcentur ex ijs, ſive perfecta, ſive imperfecta, vegetantes, ſentientes, et rationales animæ: quæq; ancipitia ſunt quæq; amphibia dicuntur. *Natura vas* eſt quocúmq; oculos, animúmq; converteris, mortalia, immortalia, ſublimia, terrena, animata et inanimata clamant clarè et loquuntur, quiddam ſuper nos eſſe, quod hæc tam mira, tam multa, tam magna creârit, et fecerit, et creata conſervat. *Lipſi*

(o) Si in *ave rationis experte* reſurrectio apparet, quid natura inaniter calumniatur? Vide *Binnium* inter Apoſtolicas conſtitutiones. Mira de *Phœnice* ave ſcribuntur. Partim a *Plinio*, *lib.* 10. Partim ab *Ælian*, *lib.* 6.

Altitonans, and all but one Idoll. Every man crying as the Mariners in (p) *Ionahs Ship did in the tempeſt, every man to his God* I finde the *Arabians* dedicating their Altars to a God which they knew not, ingraving an inſcription like to the (q) *inſcription which St. Paul found vpon the Altar at Athens, to the vnknowne God*, thereby declaring that there was a God which they knew not, that had a predominant power over thoſe Gods which they knew: ſome againe I finde framing vnto themſelues divers other Gods, attributing vnto ſome power over the (r) *greater Nations, to ſome power over the leſſe*, to ſome over this Citie, to ſome over that. I finde the *Tyrians* tying their God *Hercules* with a Chaine, to the intent that he might not leave them nor forſake them. I finde the *Romanes* concealing the true name of *Rome*, leſt by the knowledge thereof, the God of it might be knowne, and ſo prevailed with to come forth of it, and the Citie come to ruine. I finde (ſ) *Brutus relating the ſtorie of his Genius*. I finde others erecting vnto themſelues divers other Gods, ſome (t) *celeſtiall, as the Sunne, Moone, and Starres*; ſome *terreſtriall*, and *they of the Mountaines, vallies, and woods*; ſome *aquaticall*, and *thoſe of the Seas, Rivers, and Fountaines*, ſome running after the Oxe, the Dog, and the Cat, ſome after the Hawke, ſome after the Sheepe, and ſome ſo fooliſh, that they doted vpon the very hearbes in their Gardens; whom the Poets in after times fell vpon, and vpbraided thus;

(p) *Ionah* 1. 5.

(q) *Acts* 17. 32.

(r) *Natal. Comes. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

(ſ) *Plutarchus in Bruto.*

(t) *Natalis Comes. lib.* 1. *cap.* 7.

(u) De dijs gentium.
Quicquid humus, pelagus, cælum mirabile gignit,
Id dixere deos; colles, freta, flumina, fontes.

Iuvenal:

——Quis neſcit qualia demens.
Ægyptus portenta colit? Crocodilum adorat,
Porrum, & cepe nefas violare, & frangere morſu;
O ſanctas gentes, quibus hæc naſcuntur in hortis,
Numina——

Yea ſo ſuperſtitiouſly fooliſh I finde them in offering vp their ſacrifices to theſe their phantaſticall Idols, that no ſacrifice muſt be offered, eſpecially to the ſupernall Gods,

Gods, but where there were varietie of Lampes, no place admitted, but *vpon* (76) *Altars built vpon Mountaines; no time permitted, but the morning; no Priests but such as were* (77) *Chast; no garment* but of such a colour, no wood but of such a nature; no man to dare to approach vnto them with (78) *vnwashen hands*: these phantasticall imaginations, and superstitious adorations, when the Lord saw, he was pleased to expresse himselfe in the two first Commandements.

1. *I am the Lord thy God; thou shalt haue no other Gods but me.*
2. *Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven image, or the likenesse of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water vnder the earth.*
Thou shalt not bow downe thy selfe to them, nor worship them: For I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, visiting the sinnes of the Fathers vpon the children, vnto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me: And shew mercy vnto thousands of them that loue me and keepe my Commandements.

When the Lord saw man vpon all occasions, as his vnruly passions and affections led him, to take his holy Name in vaine: sometimes bathing his polluted hands in his most precious bloud; sometimes rubbing of his exulcerate wounds, and more often calling vpon him to damne him than to saue him, was pleased to expresse himselfe thus.

3. *Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vaine; for the Lord will not hold him guiltlesse that taketh his Name in vaine.*

When he saw him prophaning of his Sabbath, making no difference of dayes, when either pleasure or profit, or

(76) Mos fuit antiquorum altissimo deo *in loco sublimi* sacrificare; ideóq; altare quasi *alta area* vocata erat apud Latinos.

(77) Per novem dies noctésq; oportebat ab omni libidine sacerdotes abstinere, et similiter mulieres ædituas, aut initiaturas. Vnde Poëta; Pérq; novem noctes, venerem, tactúsq; virorum
In vetitis memorant.

(78) Non decet illoris manibus libare superno
Vina Iovi. Nam cum deus purus sit & ab omni prorsus, sorde immunis non cõvenire crediderint illi ministro qui ad ejus altare accederet, manus aut aliquâ corporis partem habere inquinatam, aut impuram: quare si quis neglectâ purgatione, ad sacrificia accessisset, illius preces deos néq; audire, néq; respicere arbitrabantur.

or preferment was before him, was pleaſed to put him in minde; ſaying,

4. *Remember the Sabbath day to keepe it holy.*
Sixe dayes ſhalt thou labour and doe all thy worke.
But the ſeventh day is the Sabbath of the Lord thy God: in it thou ſhalt doe no manner of worke, thou nor thy ſonne, nor thy daughter, thy man-ſervant, nor thy maide, thy cattell, nor the ſtranger that is within thy gates.
For in ſix dayes the Lord made heaven and earth, the ſea, and all that therein is, and reſted the ſeventh day, wherefore the Lord bleſſed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.

When he ſaw him careleſly neglecting them that brought him into the world, that had vndergone many pangs, and ſighes, and grones for him, that had nurtured and educated him, that had laboured and toyled all the dayes of their life, vndergone the heate of the day, and coole of the night, riſen early and gone to bed late, and all to gaine an inheritance for him, he was pleaſed to put him in minde; ſaying,

5. *Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy dayes may be long in the land, which the Lord thy God giveth thee.*

When he ſaw him likewiſe valuing the bloud of man no more than of a beaſt provided for the ſlaughter, vpon all occaſions, without any Commiſſion from him taking the ſword into his owne hands, and revenging a word fallen in heate, and oftentimes drawne out of the ſpeaker with death, yea ſuddaine death, was pleaſed to put him in minde; ſaying,

6. *Thou ſhalt doe no murther.*

When

When he ſaw him likewiſe wandring after beautie, ſacrificing to his luſts as to his God, voluntarily divorcing himſelfe from his legitimate ſpouſe, and bed-fellow, and all to pleaſe his ſenſuall appetite, was pleaſed to put him in minde; ſaying,

7. *Thou ſhalt not commit adulterie.*

When he ſaw him ſometimes with a ſtrong hand openly invading the poſſeſſions of his neighbour, ſometimes by fraud ſecretly vndermining them, and ſometimes ſurreptitiouſly and feloniouſly entring into them, was pleaſed to put him in minde; ſaying,

8. *Thou ſhalt not ſteale.*

When he ſaw him likewiſe ſo preſũptuouſly prophane, as to dare to call him to witneſſe that which his conſcience before told him, was moſt falſe and vnjuſt, was pleaſed to put him in minde; ſaying,

9. *Thou ſhalt not beare falſe witneſſe againſt thy neighbour.*

When he ſaw him likewiſe lõging after his neighbours houſe, neighing after his neighbours wife, and taking more pleaſure to compaſſe that which was his, than he did to enjoy that which was his owne; was pleaſed to put him in minde; ſaying,

10. *Thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbours houſe, thou ſhalt not covet thy neighbours wife, nor his man-ſervant, nor his maid-ſervant, nor his oxe, nor his aſſe, nor any thing that is thy neighbours.*

Ruſtic: Are theſe the Lawes out of which all humane Lawes are derived?

Iurid: Yes certainely.

Rustic: How doth it appeare?

Iurid: By the testimony of the most ablest men in their generations.

Rustic: What doe they say of them?

Iurid: Positively, that they are the fountaine of all humane Lawes, and shew (w) *precisely* how, they say, that out of the Lawes of the first Table are derived all those Lawes which doe concerne our duties towards God; and out of the Lawes of the second Table are derived those which concerne our neighbour. Againe, more punctually they say, that out of the first precept of the second Table, being the fifth in order of the decalogue, all those Lawes which doe concerne that part of Iustice, which the Iusticiaries haue named Distributive Iustice; and out of the fourth precept of the second Table, being the eight in order of the Decalogue, all those Lawes which doe concerne that part of Iustice, which the Iusticiaries haue named Commutative Iustice, are derived: and out of the fifth Law of the second Table the Lawes of Actiõs. Yet more punctually, those Lawes which doe concerne the persons of men are borrowed from the first of the second Table: and those which cõcerne their estates are borrowed out of the fourth of the second Table; and those which decide Controversies, are borrowed out of the fifth of the second Table. Vnder which titles, persons, estates, and actions, all Lawes are comprehended. Againe, yet more punctually they shew what Lawes are derived out of every precept, vnto which, as the Springs to the Fountaine, all humane Lawes haue relation one way or other.

Rustic: You doe not number the Lawes of the Heathens amongst these Lawes, which you will haue to be derived out of these sacred Lawes.

Iurid: Yes certainely.

Rustic: I pray you, how could they that never knew God, know his Lawes?

Iurid:

(w) *Herbach.* Primum præceptum summam earum legum quæ ad *Monarchiam* spectat, continet: istæ commonstrant vnum mundi authorem esse, principem ac regem vnum, qui salutariter gubernat omnia, quiq; *Oligarchiam* & *Democratiam* è cælo penitùs exegit. Secundum, summa est omnium quæ de *simulachris* manufactis sanctæ sunt, quæ néq; simulachra, néq; signa, aut statuas fabricari, néq; fabularum commenta, néq; deorũ nuptias ortúlve permittũt. Tertio subijciuntur tum ea quæ sub *iusiurandum* cadere non debent, tum de quibus iurandum est, et quo tempore, et quo loco. Quartum, est summa festorum et earum rerum quæ ad singulorum *dierum expiationem* pertinent. Quintum, est summa earum legum quæ de *senibus* & *iuvenibus* de *principibus*, et *subiectis*, de *seruis* et *Dominis* scriptæ sunt. Sextum, est summa earum quæ homines qui *vitam lasciviâ* et *luxuriâ diffluentem* degunt, corrigunt. Septimum, est summa earum quæ *de vi* et *cõtumelia*, *de plagis* et *vulneribus*, *de membris mutilatis* latæ sunt. Octavum, est summa earum quæ de *fraudandis Creditoribus* de societate mercatoria, de rapinis, et breviter de omni avaritiæ genere decretæ sunt. Nonum, summa est earum quæ factæ sunt versus illos qui *fidem* tanquam *involucrum perfidiæ* faciunt. Decimum, summa earũ quæ factæ sunt versus *cupiditatem*, quasi fontem malorum.

Philo Iud. de 10. Præceptis.

Inrid: Though they had no perfect knowledge, yet they had a glimmering notion of them by traditiō from the Patriarks, and by some reliques which they left behinde them; though (x) κακόζηλως, by a *false worship they abused and corrupted them*, giving the honour due vnto the true God, vnto their false and imaginary Idols; it was in imitation of those sacred Lawes, that the old *Romanes* made the Lawes of the Ten Tables, and set vp their *Decemviri*, Ten men to see those Lawes duely executed, vnto which *Numa* added two, and so they passed by the Lawes of the twelue Tables. It was from those Lawes likewise that *Lycurgus* framed his Lawes, vnto which the *Lacedemonians* tooke such liking and affectiō, that they resolved so long as he continued absent from them, to keepe them inviolably; who to the intent his Lawes might not be violated, willingly banisht himselfe from his owne Countrey, and dyed in *Delos*, by which meanes his Lawes, according to the Oracle of *Apollo* continued in force by the space of 500. yeares. Out of these likewise *Solon* framed his, which among the *Athenians* were of like repute & estimation, though *Anacharsis* was pleased to compare them vnto Spiders webbes: and out of these *Minos* framed his, though the *Athenians* and Citizens of *Megara* for that he sought reuenge for the cruell murther of his sonne, were pleased to terme him the chiefe Iudge of hell: & from these *Numa* borrowed his, though he gaue the honour thereof to the Idoll goddesse *Ægaria*.

(x) *Herbach.*

Rustic: How can you say that *Lycurgus* and the rest of the Heathens had an eye vnto those sacred Lawes in the making of theirs, whenas many of their Lawes are *ex diametro* repugnant vnto them? (x) *Lycurgus made a Law, that if a childe were not strong, well proportioned, and like to doe his Country service, he should be throwne into the Apothetes*, the common-house of office: and *Aristotle* hath the like Law, *Nihil* (y) *debilitatum educandum esto*,

(x) *Plutarchus* in *Lycurgo.*

(y) *Arist.* lib 7. cap. 16. polit.

which Lawes of theirs, not onely the Lawes of GOD & nature, but even the Heathens themselues condemne as barbarous.

Ingenio pollet cui vim natura negavit.

Saith the Poet, the weakest bodies haue the strongest wits: and *Seneca* hath many sayings to this purpose, *Ex casa vir magnus exire potest, & ex deformi humiliq; corpusculo formosus animus & magnus*, out of a poore Cottage oftentimes proceedes greatnesse, and out of a deformed and mishapen bodie a good and honest heart. Who more deformed then *Richard* the third, King of *England*, yet who more Couragious, and had not his vnjust vsurpation of the Crowne, and the monstrous vnnaturall murthers of his two Nephewes, eclypsed all the worth that was in him, he might well haue had a place in *Paulus Iouius* among the magnanimous spirits of the world? Who more (z) *crooked then Æsop, yet who more wittie than Æsop?* Who more deformed than the (a) *Bishop of Collen, of whom William of Malmesbury makes mention*, yet who more holy than he? There was (saith *William* of *Malmesburie*) in this Citie, which heretofore was called *Agrippina* from *Agrippa*, but afterwards of *Trajan* the Emperor *Colonia*, a poore parish Church, into which there came an Emperour of *Germanie* one Sunday morning from hunting in the habit of a Souldier, and when he saw a Priest *deformis sanè & planè portentum naturæ*, deformed and crooked saying of divine service, he wondred with himselfe; *Quare deus a quo cuncta formosa procedunt tam deformem hominem sacramenta sua perficere permitteret*, wherefore God from whom all beautie proceeds, would suffer so deformed a creature to serue him in so high a place. But as he was thus excogitating with himselfe, it happened, that the Priest read those words which were in the *Psalmes* appointed for

(z) Ingenium aliquando malè habitat vt *M. Lollium* soleret jocari in *Galbam* qui fuit egregiè eruditus, *deformis* tamen.

Æsopus fuit omnium suæ ætatis hominũ deformosissimus, acuto capite pressis naribus, depresso collo, prominentibus labris, *niger*, vnde nomen adeptus est: idẽ enim *Æsopus*, quod *Æthiops*, ventrosus, valgus et jucurvus, & *Homericum Therſitem* turpitudine formæ *superans*.

Vide vitam Æsopi à Planude conscriptã.

(a) *William Malmesburie* de gestis regum *Angliæ*, lib. 2.

for that day; *Know you not that the Lord is God; and it is he which hath made vs and not we our ſelues:* which words when the Emperour heard, he tooke them as Oracles ſent from God to giue him ſatisfaction. Wherefore hauing fully informed himſelfe of the condition of the man, and finding him to be both a learned and good man, made him afterwards Biſhop of *Collen.* How can theſe Lawes be derived, I ſay, out of thoſe ſacred Lawes when as they doe directly impugne them. Againe, (b) *Lycurgus made a Law,* that if a man diſabled by nature to procreate, being an impotent man, ſhould for covetouſneſſe ſake marry with an inheritrix, ſhe might make choice of any of her husbands kindred to beget Children of her: which Law of his is directly repugnant to the Law of God. Againe, *Plato* made a Law, that young men and women ſhould at certaine times of the yeare, in certaine places appointed for that purpoſe, which he calleth *Gymnaſia,* for the exerciſe of their bodies, encreaſe of their ſtrength, and to make women more hardy to bring forth their children, dance, runne and ride naked in the preſence both of young and olde people. Againe, (c) *Lycurgus made a Law,* that it ſhould be lawfull for boyes to ſtale and prole pettie things, ſo that they did it handſomely, vpon pretence to enable them to be more fit for pillage when they came to be Souldiers, and make them more quicke of ſpirit, and others more carefull to keepe that which they haue; how can theſe Lawes by any meanes be ſaid to be derived out of the Lawes of God, ſeeing that they doe directly impugne them.

(b) *Plutarch* in *Lycurgo.*

(c) Eadem lex apud *Ægyptios.*
Furta apud veteres Ægyptios omnia fuiſſe licita, & impunita, apud *Lacedæmonios* laudata refert. *Gell. lib.* 11. *ca.* 18.

Inrid: Certainly, theſe were not the Lawes but the errors and extravagant opinions of theſe men; *Nam lex eſt ſanctio iubens honeſta, & prohibens contraria,* Lawes doe commaund things that are honeſt to be done, and prohibit the contrary. *Lycurgus, Plato* and *Ariſtotle* were men, and had their (d) *errours,* though they were

(d) —*Vitijs* nemo ſine naſcitur
Optimus ille qui minimis vrgetur.
Horat.

the oracles of their times; and the wonders of the world, and it is no wonder; for the reverend Fathers of the Church had theirs; Saint *Augustin* writ two bookes of Retractations; and of Saint *Origen* it is said, *Vbi benè nemo melius, vbi malè nemo pejus*, where he did well no man did better, but where he did ill no man did worse.

Rustic: What are the Lawes then that are derived out of those sacred Lawes?

Iurid: Generally such as haue a correspondency with the Law of God, that doe as they doe command things honest to be done, and prohibit the contrary: such indeed as were the Lawes of King *Allured*, who made the Law of God his (*) *Master-peece in making of his Lawes* to governe his people, and set it in the frontispice of them.

(e) Vide præfationē ad *leges Allured* in priscis Anglorum legibus.

Rustic: I pray you acquaint me more particularly, what are the Canonicall and other Lawes now in force that are derived out of those sacred Lawes?

Iurid: Sir, if I should giue you a particular account of all the Lawes that are derived thence, a mightie volume would not containe them. Wherefore I will onely shew vnto you the titles and heads of those Lawes which are derived out of every Law. And first I will shew you what Lawes are derived out of the Lawes of the first Table: and so of the rest as they fall in my way. The Lawes which are derived out of the Lawes of the first Table are those, *viz. De summa Trinitate, de fide catholicâ, de sacrosanctis ecclesijs, de hæreticis, de Apostatis, de blasphemijs, de juramentis et similia*, which punish as well those that attribute the honour due to the true God to false and imaginary Idols; as they which live without God in the world.

Rustic: What kinde of persons, I pray you, are they that doe so?

Iurid: In the first place is the Atheist that monster of nature, whom the heathen Orator long agoe condemned

ned, affirming, that no (79) *Nation was ever so barbarous or inhumane, but acknowledged one God or other.* In the second place, the Arrian, denying the diuinitie of our blessed Lord and Saviour, whom the (80) *Nicene Councell long agoe condemned.* In the third place is the selfe-conceited, and opinionated hereticke and schismaticke, who out of his singularitie, will draw other Conclusions out of the sacred Scriptures, which the spirit of God and the holy Church never meant and intended. In the fourth place, are all those Idolaters, lying vndertakers, (81) *Planetaries, Starre-gazers, who draw Conclusions out of their own obseruations from the event of things*; who because a Cloud moued this way, or was of that colour, or a Hare crossed his way, the Salt fell towards him, a Serpent passed on his right hand, or a Fox on his left; (f) *things in the iudgement of the wise not to be regarded*;) therefore this or that thing must not be done on this day. Againe, those Necromancers, Witches, and Enchanters, who are in a kinde of league and confederacie with vncleane spirits. Such as was the Witch of *Endor*, possessed with the spirit of *Python*, with whom *Saul* cõsulted to raise vp *Samuel* when he went to warre against the *Philistims*. Againe, those Iuglers, Charmers, Compounders of medicines, and complexion-makers, who dasle and beguile the sences, presenting obiects in other shapes and formes than in truth they are. Such as were the *Ægyptian* (g) *Sorcerers, Iannes and Iambres*, who resisted *Moses*, whom Saint *Paul* compareth to false teachers, who vnder shew and colour of godlines, leade captiue silly women. Againe, those cunning Wizards now adayes called *wise* (h) *women, but indeede are meere impostors*, who in ancient time were said to attaine to their knowledge, subtiltie, and craft, by eating the principall part and members of some beast, in which they conceiued to reside some speciall and singular vertue, and so by a kinde of μετεμψύχωσις, or transmigration, what

(79) Omnibus innatũ est, & quasi insculptum, esse deum. *Cicero lib. 2. de nat. deorum.* Nulla gens est, nẽq; tam inmãsueta, nẽq; tam ferrea quæ deum non agnoscit. *Cicero.*

(80) *Tempore Constantini* Imperatoris *Arriana hæresis* exorta, quæ corrupto orbe toto, Britanniam etiam extra orbem tam longè remotam veneno sui infecit erroris, sed in *Nicena synodo* detecta atq; *damnata* fuit.

Bed Eccles hist. lib. 1.

(81) Cùm *Diogenes* inuersetur in vita gubernatores, medicos atq; Philosophos, animalium omnium sapientissimum hominem esse dicebat; cùm autem inspiceret *somniorum conflictores*, vates, vel hujusmodi cæteros, tunc nihil stultius existimare homine dicebat. *Diog. Laert. in Diog.*

(f) *Iulius Cæsar* nulla superstitione aut augurio deterreri potuit ab incæptis; dum in *Africam* proficisceretur, in egressu navis prolapsus in terrã; sed in melius omine cõmutato, teneo te (inquit) *Africa*, eámq; obtinuit.

Sutton in Cæsar.

Et *Guliel. Conq.* cũ primo terræ ingressu, equum quem ascenderat, incitavit ad cursum, ab equo lapsus, & prostratus in terram, terra (inquit) mea est, quod eventus ostendit.

(g) 2 Timoth. 3. 8.

(h) Suggestione quidem diaboli (vt inquit *Bles.*) quædam mulieres sunt, quæ cereas sive luteas formant imagines vt sic hostes, vel amatos torqueant et incendant juxta illud *Virgil.*

Limus vt hic durescit, et hæc vt cera liquescit
Vno eodémq; igni: sic nostro *Daphnis* amore.

Et quædam *mulieres* habent oculos fascinãtes juxta illud. *Virg.*

Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

Non inutile est consilium; Sit sententia Christiana nihil de futuris inquirere, sed illius dispositioni obedire. Qui disponit omnia suavitèr.

what vertue was in them, must be conveyed over, and so they become as wise as those beasts. Againe, such as Prognosticate things by the Calculating of nativities, or by Chyromancie, or Meteoroposcopie, or by any Witchcraft whatsoever. These and many more of those various shaped monsters, are within the meaning of the Lawes borrowed from the Lawes of the first Table. Nay, not those alone, but even they also who seeke for helpe and succour in any other, though of (i) the *Saints, than in our blessed Lord and Saviour, a reverend opinion as examples and patternes of imitation the reverend Fathers haue ever had of them,* and no Christian so barbarous as to conceive otherwise of them, but a divine worship and adoration, the Fathers haue denyed them, and no Christian (vnlesse he will come within the penaltie of those Lawes) must giue vnto them.

(i) *Acts* 4. 12.

Memoriæ divorum, quorum spiritus apud deum vivunt, *reverenter habenda* propter imitationẽ, non autem *adoranda* propter religionem. *Augustin.*

Rustic: What is the penaltie of those Lawes I pray you?

Iurid: It is in some degree æquivalent to the nature of the offence; the offences being *Crimina læsæ majestatis,* the punishments which the Lawes of God and of all Nations haue ordeined are Capitall. The (k) *soule that turneth after such as haue familiar spirits, and after Wizards, to goe a whoring after them, I will set my face against,* saith the Lord, and will cut him off from the people. And againe, that man or woman that hath a familiar spirit, or is a Wizard, shall surely be put to death, and their bloud shall be vpon them; such punishments haue the Lawes of God provided for such malefactors. Agreeable with those Lawes were those (l) *Canonicall Lawes which were made about the yeare of our Lord* 398. *at a generall Councell held vnder Arcadius and Honorius:* by which Lawes all the drugs and reliques of Idolatry were vtterly abolisht & extinguisht. Which said Lawes were made vpon this occasion; The Heathens had long before given forth, that in the yeare of our Lord 398. the

(k) *Levit.* 20. 6. *Deut.* 18. 10.

(l) Vide *Concilium Carthaginense* 5tum.

the Christians and Christian Religion should be vtterly extirpated & abolished; to the intent therefore that this their vanitie and vaine ostentation might appeare to the world, it was desired by the Christians that what they had given forth of the Christian Religion, might be manifested in extirpating of Idolatry; which request being thought reasonable, it was decreed accordingly; in pursuit of which decree, it was decreed in a generall Councell held at *Ratisbone* in the yeare of our Lord 742. that every Bishop within his Diocesse should haue a vigilant eye and care, that none of those Paganish Ceremonies, by which the silly people had beene long deluded, should ever be vsed amongst Christians. Agreeable likewise to those Lawes were the Lawes of *Constantine* the Emperour, who provided fire for such malefactors. Agreeable likewise vnto them are the (m) *fundamentall Lawes of this our Nation*: and a speciall Writ framed by the Cusitors of auncient time, reciting the Law of God as the platforme, by which the Lawes that punish delinquents in this kinde are formed; the forme whereof we may see in *Fitzh: nat. brev: pag.* 269.

(m) *Brit.* lib. 1. cap. 9.

Rustic. I pray you goe on as you haue begun, and as you haue shewed me what lawes are derived out of the first and second Law of the first Table: so now shew me what Lawes are derived out of the third Law of the same Table.

Iurid: I will satisfie you therein, and shew you some thing more; I will first shew vnto you, what it is to take the name of God in vaine: secondly, I will shew you what are the Lawes which punish such offences: and lastly, I will shew you what punishments some haue vndergone that haue incurred the danger of those Lawes, that by their examples, you may be warned and admonished

Rustic: You shall vnderstand that the name of God is then taken in vaine, either when with the little instru-

ment of the body the tongue, whoſe proper office is truely to expreſſe to the world the ſecret cogitations and imaginations of the heart, and to glorifie GOD, we belye the heart, and make the world by her report beleeue one thing, when the heart intends another; as when we diſſemble and lye, ſweare and forſweare, taking the holy Name of God in our mouthes to confirme what is ſaid: or otherwiſe, when we doe in our actions ſilently prophane the name of God, when being Diſciples of Chriſt, and taking denomination of Chriſtians from him, wee doe commit thoſe offences, which the Heathen Moraliſts, when they were vpon the face of the earth would haue beene aſhamed to haue done, which many of the *Turkes*, and *Mahumetans* doe abhorre to doe, and which are not heard of among the moſt barbarous *Indians*: as when (a) *we ſpend our dayes and yeares, and times in all manner of licentiouſneſſe, in rioting and drunkenneſſe, in chambering and wantonneſſe, in ſtrife and envying, in oppreſſion and extortion, and the like.* What doe we els in doing of theſe things but prophane the Name of God, and bring the name of Chriſt into contempt? How can he be ſaid to be a Scholler of *Pythagoras*, that never followed him in any of his footſteps, nor obſerved and kept any of his rules and precepts? How can he properly be ſaid to ſerve vnder ſuch a Generall, that was never with him in the field, or followed him a foote to any skirmiſh? How can he be ſaid to be a Chriſtian, that runs a contrary courſe to the life of Chriſt in all his actions? Certainely, he beareth the name of Chriſt in vaine, and the name of *Arrius* or *Atheiſt* would better become him. Chriſt whileſt he was vpon the face of the earth, was juſt and vpright in all his actions, free from oppreſſion and doing of wrong to any; he was meeke and lowly, free from pride and ambitious thoughts, he was loving & peaceable, free from ſtrife and contention; he faſted and prayed often, free from

(a) Sic vivunt homines, tanquam mors nulla ſequatur,
Aut velut infernus fabula vana foret.
Non redit in mentem, his olim moribus
Cælo cecidiſſe *Luciferum*, quibus nos cælum hodiè ſperamus oſtendere.
Petrarch.

from riotting and drunkenneſſe, or a licentious courſe of life. If therefore we will be the Diſciples of Chriſt, and heires of the inheritance which he hath purchaſed for vs, we muſt tread in the pathes which he hath beaten out vnto vs; and imitate him in the whole courſe of our liues and converſations, it is to doe well, which giues life and being to a Chriſtian; for in vaine doe we terme our ſelues Chriſtians, when as we doe the works of the Gentiles; it is but diſſembled ſanctitie, double iniquitie; God will not be (o) *mocked, nor cannot be beguiled, he is able to diſcouer our hypocriſies and diſſimulations*; when as we make his Name but a cloake to free vs from the danger of the Lawes of temporall Princes, and profeſſe our ſelues to be Chriſtians, becauſe we dare not acknowledge our ſelues to be Heathens, though in the whole courſe of our liues we follow and imitate them.

(o) Vide fabulam *de Adulatore & Coquo*, qua oſtenditur nihil mali non manifeſtari eſſe deo

Si quid turpe facis mortales fortè latebis,
Nemo deum latuit turpia mente putans.

(p) *Plato takes notice of three ſorts of Atheiſts.* Of one who with his tongue acknowledgeth there is a God, but denyeth him in his actions, and liues as if there were none, whom he thinketh worthy not of one, but of more deaths. A ſecond, that liues as if there were a God, yet with his tongue profeſſeth there is none, to whom he enjoyneth fiue yeares impriſonment, and if that during that time he doth not decline his opinion, then to dye the death. A third, that acknowledgeth there is a God, yet denyeth his providence on earth, to whom he enjoyneth perpetuall impriſonment, and no free-man ever to haue acceſſe vnto him: and when he dyeth his bones to be carried out of the Country, and to be left vnburied. So with *Plato* the man that (81) *liues like an Atheiſt is the moſt deteſtable Atheiſt*, the (q) *life of a man prevailes and perſwades more than a great deale of ſmooth Rhetoricke: Sic loquere vt videam*, was a wiſe ſpeech of a Heathen. It is ſaid of (r) *Veſpaſian* in *Tacitus*, *that his example prevailed more with the multitude, than a multitude of Lawes could haue done in the redreſſing of diverſe abuſes.*

(p) *Plato lib.* 11.

(81) Non vox, ſed votum nõ muſica *chordula*, ſed cor,
Non *clamor*, ſed *amor*, clamat in aure dei.

(q) Non ſic inflectere ſenſus humanos *edicta* valẽt, quàm *vita* regentis. *Claudian.*

(r) *Tacit. lib.* 3. *cap.* 12.

If we will be Chriſtians, then let vs ſhew our ſelues in our Converſations to be ſo: let vs ſet before our eyes the example of (f) *Scanderbeg*, who for the Catholike Faith, in the behalfe of his bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer, expoſed himſelfe during the whole courſe of his life, to continuall perils and dangers againſt the *Turkes*. Let vs ſet before our eyes likewiſe the examples of the bleſſed Martyrs, that are now Saints in heaven, that ſuffered ſuch perſecutions for his ſake alone: and if we cannot doe as they did, yet let vs (t) *with Solon doe what we can.*

(f) Barlet. lib. 2. de vita & geſtis Scanderbegi.

(n) Cùm *Athenas Piſiſtratus* occupâſſet, & *Solon* videbat conatũ omnem fruſtrà eſſe, prolibertate ſcutum & arma ante fores Curiæ ponens, ô patria (inquit) tibi & *diſtin & factis opitulatus ſum.*

Eſt aliquid prodire tenùs, ſi non datur vltrà. Horat.

Even good endevours are acceptable vnto God. Let vs ſeriouſly take into our conſiderations the ſhortneſſe of this life, and the durable eſtate of the life to come. Let vs aſſure our ſelues what a (*) *Queene of England* once writ *to one of her maidens of honour, is moſt true:*

That if in vertue wee take any paines:
The paine departeth, but vertue remaines.
But if we take pleaſure to doe that is ill;
The pleaſure departeth, but the ill tarrieth ſtill.

(*) *This, or to this effect have I ſeene written with the Queenes owne hand, and her name to it ſubſcribed, with this perſwaſive intreatie;* Good Madam for my ſake remember this. *It is to be ſeene in a Manuſcript ſometimes Prince* Henries, *given to the Vniverſity-Library in* Oxon. *by* Mr. Connock, *and remaineth in the Cuſtodie of my good friend* Mr. Rous.

Let vs know, that two wayes are ſet before vs, the one wherein our bleſſed Saviour walked, whoſe pathes are thorny and ſlippery in the beginning, but greene and pleaſant in the ending: the other wherein his enemies walked, plaine and even at the firſt ſetting out, but full of bogs and quagmires and gulfs in the ending; the one leading vnto life, the other to death and deſtruction. Let vs with *Mary* chooſe the better part, and while (*) *we have time, doe ſome deedes of Charitie*, and not deferre the doing thereof vntill the houre of our death; for when the gloomie night of death and ſickneſſe approach,

(*) Da dum tempus habes, tibi propria ſit manus hæres. Auferet hoc nemo, quod dabis ipſe Deo.

proach, it is too late to offer vp thoſe ſicke ſacrifices, for then we cannot properly be ſaid to giue but to leaue thoſe things behinde vs which we could not carry with vs. God will not be ſo ſerved, it is vaine and idle to thinke, that when we haue lived in all manner of licentiouſnes, robd the fatherleſſe and widowes, that by giuing of thoſe ſicke ſacrifices, to pray for our ſoules, we ſhould ſaue our ſoules, no, thoſe good deeds which doe open heaven-gate when we die, muſt be ſuch as doe attend an innocent, harmeleſſe, and well led life. Let vs therefore, I ſay, doe good while we may; ſheede a few (*) *penitentiall teares here, that we may enjoy eternall bliſſe and happineſſe hereafter.* Let theſe contemplations take vp our ſerious thoughts and meditations; and let the practiſe hereof be our profeſſions, ſo ſhall we deſerue the name of Chriſtians, and avoyde the penaltie of the Lawes derived out of this third Law of the firſt Table.

(u) Quanta jucunditas, pro paucis lachrymis interminabilem riſum, pro temporalibus jejunijs æterna cõvivia, pro volũtaria paupertate inæſtimabiles divitias; pro incolatu ſylvarum jus Civitatis ætherex; pro fumoſo tugurio ſtellantia Chriſti palatia; pro agreſti ſilẽtio cantus Angelicos, et cæleſtis dulcedinẽ harmoniæ, quæq; omne melos exceſſerit! *Petrarch.*

Ruſtic: You haue ſufficiently ſhewed me what it is to take the Name of God in vaine. In the next place, I ſhall put you in mind of your promiſe, to ſhew vnto me what are the Lawes which puniſh ſuch as preſumptuouſly abuſe the Name of God.

Iurid: I ſhall therein ſatisfie you likewiſe. The Lawes which puniſh ſuch offenders, are comprehended by the Canoniſts vnder theſe titles, *De blaſphemijs, de diris execrationibus, & de vero vſu nominis Dei, & ſimilibus.*

Ruſtic: But what is the penaltie of thoſe Lawes?

Iurid: That part I will leaue to the Canoniſts, as being their proper office to ſhew vnto you. Onely I will acquaint you what puniſhments ſome haue vndergone and ſuffered by the immediate hand of God, for tranſgreſſing of them: and for your ſatisfaction therein, looke into the booke of God, and Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtories, and you may ſatisfie your ſelfe. You ſhall there behold how (*) *Corah, Dathan,* and *Abiram* went in perfect health (w) *Numb.* 16.

health to their graves, the earth opened and ſwallowed them vp, becauſe they abuſed the Name of God, and preſumptuouſly rebelled againſt him. (x) How *Nebuchadnezar was turned out into the field to graſe like an Aſſe*, becauſe he did the like: how (y) *Senacherib with his whole Armie, being a hundred foureſcore and fiue thouſand* periſhed for reproaches which he vſed towards the living God. (z) *Ioſephus reports of Theopompus a Philoſopher*, that becauſe he did preſume to inſert among his prophane Writings, certaine things which were delivered by *Moſes* to the Children of *Iſrael*, by ſpeciall revelation from God, that he was on a ſuddaine bereaved of his ſences. It is reported likewiſe in the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtories, of a certaine ſcoffer that falling into argument with his Pot-Companions in a taphouſe of the immortalitie of the ſoule, maintained that there was no ſuch thing as the ſoule, but that it was a meere illuſion & invention of the Prieſts to terrifie the people, and to get a liuing by. Which his Companion hearing, being deſirous to beat him from that Atheiſticall opinion, told him, that the Patriarkes, the Prophets, and Evangeliſts, and the Fathers in all the generall Councels, nay the very Heathens themſelues generally did all maintaine the immortalitie of the ſoule. To whom the Atheiſt replyed; that at all adventures he would ſell his for a cup of Wine, and in the end the Devill in humane ſhape appeares and gaue him his demaund: and (as the Storie ſaith) *animam per aërem avehit Satanas*; tooke away his ſoule with him. It is reported likewiſe of *Theodactes* a Tragicall Poet, that in a certaine Tragedie of his having taken certaine things out of the ſacred Scripture, and inſerted them among his owne prophane Writings, he was ſtrucke blind, (and as the Storie ſaith, *Glaucomate ſuffuſus.*) It is reported likewiſe of (a) *Pherecides, a Tragicall Poet, that he was vſed to ſay, that he never offered Hecatombas, ſacrifices to God*, yet he led a more quiet life, and

(x) *Daniel* 4.

(y) *Eſay* 37.

(z) *Ioſeph. lib.* 12. *cap.* 2°. de antiquitate *Iudaor.*

Ioſeph. ibid.

(a) *Ælian.* lib. 4. de varijs hiſtorijs.

and had all things in more abundance, than they which continually attended and ſerved at the Altar: but this his blaſphemous babling eſcaped not vnpuniſhed, for not long after he was ſore troubled with a continuall ſweat; which bred ſuch ſtore of wormes and lice in his bodie, that (as the Story ſaith) he dyed *de phthiriaſi* of a loathſome lowſie diſeaſe. Such were the puniſhments that theſe Atheiſticall blaſphemous bablers vnderwent for abuſing Gods holy Name. God is a jealous God and will not ſuffer his name to be traduced: and no marvaile; for if an Artificer ſhall be ſo carefull of his reputation, that he will not ſuffer himſelfe to be defamed, but that he will haue ſatisfaction for the wrong done vnto him, for that his credit is his livelihood. If a Peere of the Realme ſhall be ſo tender of his honour, that he will not admit of the leaſt aſperſion, but he will right himſelfe, and take advantage of the Lawes *de ſcandalis Magnatum*. If the ſacred Majeſtie of a King will not endure to haue any rumors raiſed, whereby his government may be ſcandalized, and diſſention grow betweene him and his people, but he will haue a ſtrict account of it; much more the King of Kings and Lord of Lords. The Heathen (b) *Orators* did ever hold it for a moſt vnſeemely and abſurd thing, either *in re ſeria jocari*, or *in re jocoſa ſerium eſſe*. *Sophocles* did never more forget himſelfe, than he did at that time when as he being Prætor with *Pericles*, and they with others in a ſerious conſultation of the affayres of the Common-wealth, cryed out, *O puerum pulchrum Pericle*, ſeeing a faire boy comming by him. And certainely, Comædians doe never more tranſgreſſe the Rules of Poetry, nor commit greater ſolæciſmes, than they doe at thoſe times when in their ſports and paſtimes they careleſſly invocate the divine power. Comedies haue ever beene allowed in all ages, and neceſſary it is they ſhould be for the trayning vp of youth to exerciſe their wits, and inventions, and to

(b) *Cicero* lib. 1°. Officios.

——— Triſtia mæſtum
Vultum, verba decent, iratum, plena minarum,
Ludentem laſciva, ſeverum ſeria dicta.

Horat. in Arte Poët.

Feminam aulicam diligenter oportet excubare (vt inquit Caſtilio) ne ſeveris in rebus ridiculis ſcateat, ne gravia ludicris miſceat; nec laudem ex eo quærat quod omninò ignorat: deniq; affectata omnia tanquã Scyllam et Charybdim evitet.

Caſtilio. lib. 3.

to embolden them, to make them fit for imployment when they come to riper yeares. It is the abuſe which makes the *French*-man in the Courtier terme them (c) *Buffones*; and *Iuſtinian* to ranke them with them, *Qui notantur infamiâ*, as when they doe enterlace prophane things with divine, Scripture with vaine and idle inventions. What can be more abſurd, then when *Cato* is giving a Charge in the Senate-houſe, to induce a fidler or jugler? What can be more groſſe, than when *Iocaſta* with her two twins *Eteocles* and *Polynices* lye wallowing in their bloud, comming to their ends by vntimely deaths, & all the ſpectators mourning in ſables, and lamenting thoſe vnfortunate accidents, to induce a Mimicke to ſhew ſome tricks vnto them? What can be more incongruous on the other ſide, than for a Comædian in his ſports and paſtimes prophanely to vſe the ſacred and reverend Name of God? The Orators in former ages did ſometimes breake forth out of ſerious diſcourſes into witty Apophthegmes, but what was ỹ end of it? it was to revive and exhilarate the ſpirits of their Auditors, whom they had wearied with a (d) *long diſcourſe* before; but never vſed any direfull oaths and execrations. Learne you Comædians, and beware by the examples of *Theodactes*, *Theopompus* and *Pherecides*. God is the ſame God, his hand is not ſhortened, nor his power abated: the Story of (e) *Icarus moraliſed will tell you, that it is not ſafe to ſport and play with things which are aboue you* And the ſacred Scripture will tell you, that it is not ſafe to dally with *holy things, the Name of God is a ſacred thing, and we are commanded not to take it into our mouthes, but with feare and reverence. *Thou ſhalt not take my Name in vaine.*

Ruſtic. You haue ſhewed ſufficiently what Lawes are derived out of the three firſt Lawes of the firſt Table. I pray you goe on as you haue begunne vnto the reſt.

Invid:

(c) *Caſtilio* lib. 2.

(d) Prolixitas ex rebus non ex literis judicatur. *Homerum* aut *Virgilium* cum verſuum millia ſcripſerant, nemo hactenus multiloquos aut longos dixit. Vnde *Martial.*
Non ſunt longa quidem, nihil eſt quod demere poſſis,
Sed tu (*Coſconi*) diſtica longa facis.

(e) Quid fuit vt turus agitaret *Dædalus* alas,
Icarus immenſas nomine ſecit aquas.
Nempe quod hic *alè*, demiſſius ille volabat.
Ovid.

(*) Crede mihi, ſapere eſt non nimium ſapere.
Plato.
Vide Apologum de *Aſtrologo & viatore.*
Admonet hæc *Nemeſis*, ne quis nimis alta requirat,
Eſt aliquid parvâ poſſe habitare caſâ.
Quiſquis mediũ defugit iter
Stabili nũquã tramite curret.
Senec. in *Herc. Oetæo.*

Iurid: In the next place I will ſhew you what is meant by the word *Sabbath*. Secondly, how many *Sabbaths* the *Iewes* obſerved. Thirdly, how they came to be altered and changed. Fourthly, what Lawes haue beene derived out of this Law, for the obſervation of the *Sabbath* of dayes, and what care and proviſion hath beene taken for the due execution of them. You ſhall vnderſtand, that the word *Sabbath*, properly ſignifieth a Ceſſation and reſt from our labours: ſo that the *Iewes* named all their feſtivall dayes by the name of *Sabbath*, becauſe vpon thoſe dayes they did no manner of labour: yet they ever preferred three *Sabbaths* before the reſt: the firſt whereof was the *Sabbath* of dayes, which is the ſeaventh day: the ſecond was the *Sabbath* of yeares, which was every (f) *ſeaventh yeare, in which there was no planting nor grafting*, no lopping, nor topping; all mountaines and vallies, and all the trees of the Forreſt from the Cedar to the ſhrub, being in ſome ſort ſequeſtred from the vſe of the owner for that yeare; for as the Lord appointed the ſeaventh day for man to reſt, ſo he appointed the ſeaventh yeare for the Land to reſt. The third was the *Sabbath* of (g) *ſeuen times ſeuen yeares*, which was their great *Sabbath*, and therefore called the *Sabbath of Sabbaths*; in which as there was nothing put in execution, that was prohibited on the *Sabbath* of yeares, all Lands being freed from agriculture as they then were: ſo there were divers other priviledges and prerogatiues incident to this yeare, which were not to the former. If any man had morgaged or ſold his land, it was this yeare to returne home againe, vnleſſe they had beene houſes within ſome walled Townes, & they likewiſe, if they had beene the houſes of God, of the Church, and of the Levites. If any had beene bound this yeare, he with his familie were to be free, and to returne to his owne poſſeſſions; wherefore this yeare was called the yeare of *Iubile*, or the yeare of mirth and jollitie.

(f) *Levit.* 25.

(g) *Levit.* 25.

litie. By which they accounted all their yeares, as the *Gracians* did by their *Olympiades*. Which cuſtome continued in vſe long amongſt them, even vntill the comming of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour.

Ruſtic: How came they to be altered and changed?

Iuriſp: I will briefly ſhew vnto you, and firſt how the *Sabbath* of dayes was altered. The *Iewes* were growne to that height of impietie, that if the *Romanes* had not vanquiſht them when they did, (h) *Ioſephus* thought the very earth would haue opened & ſwallowed them vp; and *Ammianus Marcellinus* reports of them, that whereſoever they came they were called *fetentes Iudæi*, ſtinking *Iewes*. The Chriſtians therefore that they might be diſtinguiſhed from them, vtterly aboliſht their day and their Ceremonies.

(h) *Ioſeph. de bello Iudaico. lib. 6.*

Ruſtic. How came it to paſſe, that the *Iewes* ſhould be ſo odious, ſeeing that among all Natiõs of the world none were more ſtrict than they in the due obſervation of the *Sabbath*, they would not admit of a bit of meate to be baked or boyled, nor a ſparke of fire to be kinled on that day, becauſe they ſuppoſed the doing thereof to be a worke repugnant to their Lawes? Nay, they would not in defence of their lives wage any battell on that day, vntill *Matthias* one of their Captaines made a Proclamation that in defence of their lives and liberties it was lawfull for them to fight on the *Sabbath* day. *Antiochus* and *Pompey* could not ſo eaſily haue prevailed againſt them, had they not knowne their reſolutiõs to haue beene to die rather than to fight vpon that day. How I pray you became the *Iewes* ſo odious, ſeeing they were ſo obſervant of the *Sabbath* day?

Iuriſp: It is true; the *Iewes* did forbeare all manner of bodily labour on the Sabbath day; but this forbearance was not to a good end, that is, to glorifie GOD, as they ſhould haue done. If they had beene ſenſitive Creatures onely, ſuch as had a meere ſenſitiue being in the

the world, as Oxen or Horſes, they had done well, and ſatisfied the Law punctually, but they were reaſonable Creatures, God had ſtamped his owne image in them, and made them little inferior to the Angels in degree; wherefore there was more required at their hands, they were not to ſit ſtill and ſleepe, but to glorifie him with hymnes, ſongs, muſicke, and melodie. Deeds of Charitie and neceſſitie are allowed by God to be done on that day. God that allowed man to leade his Oxe and Aſſe to water on that day, alloweth him to kindle a fire to dreſſe his meate on that day. Indeede to kindle a fire to adde furtherance to the building of the Tabernacle was not permitted. God that created all Creatures for the vſe of man, alloweth him in caſe his ſheepe or cattell doe fall into a ditch, to pull him forth on that day. God who is abundant in mercie, alloweth vs to relieue our brethren in miſerie and neceſſitie on that day. *Bonum eſt beneſacere in Sabbatho,* Chriſt that healed the ſicke on the Sabbath day, alloweth the Phyſitian on that day. Almeſdeeds, deeds of Charitie, and holy recreations, which enable vs to goe on more chearefully in the duties of our Callings, are at all times acceptable both before God and man. Wherefore as it is prophane to thinke, that there is no time to be allotted for divine and holy meditations, ſo it is *Iewiſh* to conceiue there is no time to be allowed for holy and neceſſary recreations. The Wiſe-man tels vs, that there is a time for all things, as there is a time to ſow in, ſo there is a time to reape in, as there is a time of mourning, ſo there is a time of rejoycing; as there are ſix dayes to worke in, ſo there is one day ſequeſtred to glorifie God in: ſo ſweetly hath the Almightie diſpoſed of the times & ſeaſons for the vſe of man. *Plutarch* hath a prettie tale in the life of *Themiſtocles,* of the falling out of ỹ Working-dayes & Holy-dayes; Vpon a time the Working-dayes brawled with the Holy-dayes, and repined that what they carefully

Math. 12. 12.

(*) Initio mundi dies naturales diſtincti fuerunt in feſtos & profeſtos; profeſti erant ſex dies ſeptimanæ, in quibus volebat deus vt homines operarentur, idq; ſuo exemplo; feſtus erat ſeptimus dies in ſeptimana in qui volebat homines feriari à rebus profanis & vacare cultui diuino. Apud Romanos fuerunt tria dierum genera, *feſti, profeſti,* & *interciſi,* qui dei, & hominum erant communes; hoc eſt, quorum vna pars cultui divino, altera negotijs humanis impendebatur.

Zanch: lib 6. de luminaribus cæli.

fully got, they wastfully spent; vnto whom the Holy-dayes answered, Where had you beene, if I had not beene before you, and if I were not, alas, what would you be. Indeede the one without the other could not well be; for as the Working-dayes giue a being to the Holy-dayes, so the Holy-dayes reciprocally yeeld a well-being comfort and solace vnto them. We ought not therefore so to spend our dayes, as if there were no nights, nor yet the nights as if there were no dayes, not so to labour, as if there were no time to rest, nor yet so to rest, as if there were no time to labour; but as the night succeeds the day, and as the seaventh day doth the six dayes of the weeke, so to mingle societie with retiredneſse, (i) *Contemplation with action*, that one night giue comfort vnto the other, and both to vs, to this onely end, to glorifie God our blessed Lord and Saviour. The which becauſe the *Iewes* did not, but went no further than the bare letter of the Law, the out-side onely, they rested, but not to glorifie God, therefore did God abhorre their Sabbaths: and the Christians that they might be distinguished from them, set vp a new day, the next day following; yet made vse of the morall part thereof, as a handmaide in the institution of the Lords day.

(i) *Actio & contemplatio* disjungi nolunt; neutra enim sine altera perficitur; sit ergo vnusquisq; vt *gladius* ille *delphicus* vtrinq; secans, ad agendum & contemplandum paratus. Sic *Alexander* non minùs in re litteraria, quàm orbis Imperio principatum ambivit. Sic *Cyrus Xenophontis* libros nunquam de manibus ponere solebat; cùm verò in *Africam* trajecturus, et quadraginta quinq; tantùm dies ad fabricandam et instruendam aciem insumpsisset, toc etiam inter consultationes in gymnasio libellis etiam operam dabat.

Rustic: Was this fooliſh superstition of the *Iewes* the onely cauſe wherefore the Christians did alter the day?

Iurisp: It was one, but not the onely cauſe, for among many other reasons, in a generall Councell held at *Paris* vnder the Emperours *Lewis* & *Lotharius*, these are alledged; that vpon the day next following the *Sabbath* of the *Iewes* our blessed Saviour aroſe from death to life, and *Manna* was sent from Heaven; see the *generall Councell for your further satisfaction. So you see how the *Sabbath of dayes* in vse among the *Iewes* came to be altered and changed.

*Binius

Rustic:

Rustic: But how came the great Sabbath the *Iubile* to be altered?

Iurisp: How came *Rome* to be changed, she was sometimes the Mistris of the world, a virgin pure and immaculate, vnto whom all Christian Princes did yeeld obeysance, and adore her for her innocency and puritie; but afterwards shee became a strumpet, a mercenary strumpet, exposed her selfe for a little profit to all sorts of suitors: which when the Princes saw, they scorned and neglected her. The *Iubile* was sometimes a yeare of mirth and iollitie, of libertie and freedome; and for that purpose was it instituted in the Common-wealth of the *Iewes*, & ordeined to be solemnized every fiftith yeare. For that purpose likewise was it that *Pope* (k) *Boniface* the eighth instituted the same at *Rome*, and commanded it to be solēnised *every hundred yeare*, in the yeare 1300. For that purpose likewise was it that *Pope* (l) *Clement* the fixt ordeined it to be celebrated *every fiftith yeare*, according to the manner and custome of the *Iewes*, in the yeare 1350. But for another purpose was it, that is to say, for profit and Commoditie that *Pope* (m) *Boniface* the ninth, did cause it to be celebrated and solemnized in the yeare of our Lord 1400. for he made it a *meere market and faire for pardons and indulgences*. For profit and Commoditie likewise was it that *Pope* (n) *Xistus* the fourth reduced the solemnization thereof in the yeare of our Lord 1475. to *every fiue and twentith yeare*, for he knew well that if it were contracted into fewer yeares, greater profit would arise, and therefore changed the time of the solemnization thereof from the fiftith to the fiue and twentith. For profit and commoditie likewise was it that *Pope* (o) *Alexander* the sixt gaue licence and authoritie in the yeare 1500. that the same might be solemnized and celebrated *in certaine Prouinces*, wherein his end was, as one hath well obserued, *that fewer people and more money might come to Rome*. So that I may well

(k) *Plat.* in vita *Bonif.* 8. *Onuph.* in *Bonif.*

(l) *Plat.* in vit. *Clem.* 6. *Onuph.* in *Clem.*

(m) *Plat.* in vit. *Bonif.* 9. *Onuph.* in *Bonif.*

(n) *Plat.* in vit. *Xisti* 4^ti. *Onuph.* in *Xisto.*

(o) *Plat.* in vit. *Alexand.* 6. *Onuph.* in *Alexand.*

conclude vpon these premisses, that as the olde Comædians were vsed to end all their Comedies in musicke, marriages, mirth and jollitie: so the end and scope in solemnising of this, in these latter times, hath beene profit and commoditie. Old *Geffry Chawcer* seeing these abuses, being a Contemporanean with Pope *Boniface* the ninth, and being well acquainted with the occurrences of the time as well* abroad as at home, who died in the same yeare that Pope *Boniface* the ninth solemnized his *Iubile*, being in the yeare of our Lord 1400. in some indignation falls vpon him in manner following.

(*) Chawcer *was in his youth of* Merton *Colledge in* Oxonf. *and of the Inner Temple, as it is conceived; afterwards he was imployed as Embassadour.* See his life.

They sayne that Peter had the Key,
Of heaven and hell to haue and to hold:
I trow Peter tooke no money,
For no sinnes that he solde.
Such successors beene to holde.
In winning all their wit their wrall.
Her conscience is waxed cold.
And all such faitors fowle hem fall.
Peter was never such a foole
To leaue his key with such a lorell.

And so goes on bitterly. And *William* of *Malmesburie*, a Monke, who lived in the dayes of King *Henry* the first, and dyed about the beginning of the raigne of K *Henry* the second, in a mournefull kinde of Elegie with teares bewayling the miserable estate of *Rome* as it then stood, and I feare in no better case at this day; amongst many other Verses of *Hildebertus* an Archbishop, hath these following.

(p) Romani olim rerum domini, nunc dicuntur homines inertissimi, auro trutinantes justitiam, pretio venditantes Canonum regulas.
William Malmesb. lib 4°. in *William* 2°.

(P) *Vrbs cecidit, de qua si quicquam dicere dignum,*
Moliar, hoc potero dicere, Roma fuit.

——— Venalia Romæ
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria sacra, coronæ,
Ignis, thura preces, cælum est venale, Deusque.
Mantuan.

Mathew Paris, a Monke of Saint *Alban*, is full of such com-

complaints in every corner of him. *Gwicciardine* in his Historie of *Italie* tels vs, that *Pope Leo* granted (q) *Indulgences* without respect of time or place, and that his Ministers did set to sale vpon a game at Tables power to redeeme soules out of Purgatorie. *Iohn Rosse* in the Ghost of *Chadwallader* thus complaineth.

(q) *Gwicciard. lib. 13. Anno. 1520.*

Haccine religio est Romana occidere reges?
Officium populi seducere? prodere gentes?
Vocibus æquivocis verum deludere? quantum
Roma recessisti à temet? tu norma fuisti,
Exemplárq; aliis quondam regionibus, almæ
Institiæ, fidei, pietatis, relligionis.
Nunc scelerum sentina jaces, & cædibus orbem
Polluis, hæc equidem vestræ sunt ambitionis
Semina, quæ nimiùm cæcata Cupidine vanâ
Illiciti quæstus, nèq; jus nec; fas, nec honestum
Respicis, at nulli consistens finibus æqui
In patriæ vertis communem cuncta ruinam.
Siccine Iheſuitæ persuadent? Sicq; pupillos
Moribus instituunt? His Romanista diebus
Vix dici meruit, patriæ nisi proditor audet
Esse suæ, fidei sedem scelus occupat, & quod
Persuasum est aliis quondam, nunc cogitur, ac si
Relligio quæ corda ligat, quæ pectora formas,
Iam nisi larva doli, vel serva Tyrannidis esset.
Quisq; suas partes velit amplificare libenter;
Esto; sed id precibus, non vi nec sanguine fiat.
O quàm degenerem te præbes Roma! Senatus
Temporibus priscis profugum qui cadere Pyrrhum
Obtulerat, Pyrrho licèt hosti ex vrbe remittunt
Compedibus vinctum, postquàm Pharsalica pugna
Niliacas victum Pompeium extrusit ad oras.
Hunc ibi quærentem auxilium transfodit Achillas,
Et caput occisi (nam Cæsaris inde favorem
Impius ambivit) præsentat Cæsari, at ille

Dedignans

Dedignans tam vile nefas, vtcunq; probare,
Protinus è medio tolli mandavit Achillam.
Mitto Apophroditum, qui ſuſtulit enſe Neronem
Humani generis monſtrum licèt, atq; Tyrannum,
Et condemnatum furcis de more vetuſto.
Idq; licèt precibus faceret, juſſuq; Neronis,
Cum tamen id feciſſe palàm ſe jactitat, illum
Quùm primùm id ſciret, mulctavit morte Senatus.
Hæc antiqua fuit virtus & gloria Romæ.
Quàm vos diſſimiles? hoc ſi fecere prophani
Quid vos Chriſticolæ? ſiq; ipſis hoſtibus illi,
Quid vos Principibus veſtris debetis? at olim
Aurea præceſſit, nunc (*) ænea deficit ætas:
Iam nihil in Templo niſi Simonia vagatur;
Nil niſi frigeſcens nimiùm, nimiumq; caleſcens
Schiſma, fidem ſuis eſt prætendere, vita
Qualiſcunq; tibi fuerit, ſi pergis ad Aulam,
Regnat ibi ambitio, gula, liver, factio, luxus,
Gratia adulandi, quin mendicatio & illic
In pretio eſt, nempe is cui mendicare moleſtum eſt,
Aulicus eſſe nequit, vel non ſibi commodus, ipſa
Nobilitas quæſtum nimiùm venatur, honorem
Negligit; at nequeunt vno conſiſtere vilis
Quæſtus, honorq; loco; numquid ſine crimine credis
Iudiciale forum reliquis fore ſanctius? ah non!
Iuſtitiæ ſedes facta eſt venalis; an ergo
Iuſtitiam incolumem quiſquam fore ſperet? in ovo
Quod puteat, magis in pullo putreſcit, ab ipſo
Fonte fluunt rixæ, lis & violentia, quiſq; vt
Ditior eſt, litem ſic confidentiùs vrget.
Nunc injecta mora eſt, vt litis pondere feſſi
Diſcedant inoves, nunc feſtinatio parte.
Altera inaudita damno eſt; ita cauſa potentum
Prævalet ære dato, langueſcit cauſa minorum.
Hinc tandem ad Cives oculi vertantur, & vrbes,
Hic Nihil eſt niſi fraus, perjuria, fænora, ſcorta;
Inſidiæ,

(*) *Petrarch.* lib. 9. rerum ſenilium patheticè exprobrat ſordidiſſimos *mores Eccleſiaſticorum* ſui temporis.

Tota ferè hominum virtus vmbra eſt; verba, Ceremoniæ, modus veſtium, pedum motus, geſtus corporis, oculorum flexus, frons, coma, ſupercilium, ſingula hæc leniuntur, interna animi forma negligitur.

Insidiæ, ebrietas, luxus, petulantia, apud quos
Fraudare est sapere, & sapere est insania, vile
Id genus est hominum cum nil sapiat nisi quæstum:
In summa est totus scelerum nisi sarcina mundus.
Hic spoliant hostes, jugulant hic nocte latrones;
Hic Athens sacrum trahit in ludibria verbum,
Hic pater insidias soboli, soboles q; parenti
Tendit, ad interitum mundus declinat, vt hic est
Cernere, & à pravis ad turpius omnia vergunt.
Ergo quid hic rebus, sic existentibus vltra
Commoror: ad Stygias multo mihi tutius ædes
Vivitur. Ergo vale, mihi jam discedere fas sit.
Hanc mihi Nympha peto veniam, tibi dóq; vicissim.
Dixit; & vmbrosum rursus descendit ad Orcum.

Which in *English* is as followeth. What, what is *Rome* become a Sanctuary for murtherers, a schoole to teach how to kill Kings and Princes; to (83) *seduce the people from their alleagiance to their Soveraignes?* to betray their Countries, to delude the world with equivocations and mentall reservations? O *Rome, Rome*, how much art thou departed from thy first station? thou wast sometimes a guide & light vnto other Nations, of justice, pietie and Religion; but now thou art become a sinke of vncleanesse, and with thy filthinesse doest annoy and infect the whole world. Thy ambition, thy ambition is the cause of all, being blinded and bewitched with a greedie desire of filthy lucre: thou respectest neither Law nor honestie, nor the good of thy Country. Doe the *Iesuites* thus perswade thee, doe they thus instruct thee? I feare they doe, for that now adayes he scarce deserues the name of a *Romane*, that dare not vndertake to betray his Country; alas, alas! all things are out of order, wickednesse sits where honestie was vsed to doe, and what thy forefathers wrought by intreaties and gentle perswasions, now adayes is wrought with fire and fagot. Reli-

(83) *Iesuitæ* tenent *Romanum Pontificem*, si necessitas exigat, *subditos* Catholicos *solvere a juramento fidelitatis*, si princeps tyrannicè illos tractet; tenent vltrà quòd excommunicato principe, subditi non tenentur juramento fidelitatis, nam excommunicatus non potest jurisdictionis actum exercere; tenent etiam quod quodcunq; sub sigillo cõfessionis manifestum fit ijs, nullo modò debent revelare. Nam (vt ait *Bellarm.*) cur *Henricus Garnetius* vir doctrina omnis generis, et vitæ sanctitate incõparabilis, vltimo supplicio affectus est? nisi quia revelare noluit, quod salvâ conscientiâ revelare non potuit; tenent etiam quod *Papa* potest mutare regna, & auferre, & conferre, tanquam summus Princeps spiritualis.

gion which bindeth the Conſcience, is made a meere ſcarecrow and inſtrument of deluſion, & the handmaid of Tyrannie. Let him in the name of God that deſires to gaine ſheepe vnto his flocke, vſe his beſt meanes to doe it: but let him doe it as he ſhould doe it, with perſwaſions and intreaties, not with force and violence. O *Rome, Rome*, how art thou fallen, I ſay, from thy firſt ſtation! thy Senators in former times cauſed that Runnagate that offered himſelfe to kill their enemy *Pyrrhus*, to be bound hand and foote, and to be turned out of the Citie. When *Cæſar* overcame *Pompey* in the *Pharſalian* fields, and *Pompey* betooke himſelfe for refuge vnto the Coaſts of *Nilus*, where *Achillas* in ſtead of protecting him, ſlew him, and preſented his head vnto *Cæſar*, thinking thereby to winne *Cæſars* loue and favour. But *Cæſar* diſdaining ſo baſe and ignoble an act, would not endure to looke vpon him, or his preſent. When *Apophroditus* had killed *Nero*, though he were the monſter of men, a tyrant, and ſtood condemned according to the Lawes and Cuſtomes of the *Romanes*, and though he ſlew him at the earneſt requeſt and ſollicitation of *Nero* himſelfe, yet as ſoone as ever the Senate heard he made his vaunts in publicke of what he had done, they cauſed him to be put to death. Such, ſuch was the goodneſſe, vertue, and proweſſe of the *Romanes* in times paſt. But how vnlike are you vnto them: if your forefathers that were Heathens, were ſo tender of the lives of their enemies; how much more tender ought you to be that fight vnder the banner of Chriſt, of the liues of your Kings and Princes; it was a merry and golden world in thoſe dayes; but alas the times are now altered; now Simonie beares the bell in the Church; now either frozen ignorance, or ignorant fiery zeale ſets the Church at variance in it ſelfe. It is ſufficient now if a man haue a forme of godlineſſe, and make a good ſhew of Religion, let him liue never ſo vitiouſly, it is no matter; now

in

in Court ambition, luxurie, envie, faction, flattery, lying are the onely things in requeſt, and he that cannot lye or diſſemble muſt forſake that courſe of life, or not thrive by it. The Nobilitie themſelues hunt after profit, and neglect their honour; for theſe two, filthy lucre and true honour, are incompatible, and cannot inhabit in one and the ſelfe ſame place together; yea the very Courts of Iuſtice, which ſhould be kept more pure and cleane than other places, are not without ſpots and blemiſhes, and the places of judicature bought and ſold, and how then can a man expect juſtice to be duely adminiſtred; if the egge be rotten, the chicken will ſtinke and putrifie a great deale more without doubt. Hence it is that ſuits, debates, and contentions continually ariſe. Hence it is that the rich man goes to Law with greedines, whileſt the poore man faints vnder the burden; the cauſe of the one being ended with all expedition, and the cauſe of the other hanging in ſuſpence: ſo that the rich man ever prevailes with his money, and the poore man ever goes to the ground. If a man caſt his eyes vpon the Citizens & Cities, there he ſhall finde nothing but fraud, perjurie, vſury, whoredome, treacherie, drunkenneſſe, luxurie, wantonneſſe. Amongſt whom to deceiue is accounted the chiefeſt wiſedome, and to be wiſe the greateſt folly. An ill conditioned people, that relliſh nothing well but filthy lucre. To conclude, the whole world is nothing els but a meere maſſe of wickednes: here enemies ſpoyle, there theeves kill: here the Atheiſt makes a meere mockery of the ſacred Word: here the Father ſets ſnares to entrap the ſonne, there the ſonne to entrap the Father. So that here we may ſee the world grows to an end, and every thing worſe and worſe. Wherefore things ſtanding as they doe, what ſhould I ſtay here any longer; more content I find in my Stygian houſes, wherefore I take my leaue, and bid you farewell, and ſo the Ghoſt departed. So

Of the abuses at Rome, *see more in* Boccha, *in the first day of his* Decameron *and second Novell.*

much hath *Rosse* of the abuses of the Court of *Rome* at this day.

Rustic: You haue said enough of *Rome* to make a man loath and detest her, if it be true which you haue said.

Iurisp: Of the truth thereof I make no doubt, for though I saw it not with mine eyes, yet I speake from the mouths of such as were eye-witnesses, & were men of credit and reputation.

Rustic: I pray you yet satisfie me this one doubt, whether in the time of *Gregorie* the great, Indulgences, or as *Peter de Valentia* termes them, *godly deceits*, were bought and sold as they haue beene since?

Iurisp: No certainely, in his time there was no such thing vsed, nor for many yeares after, vntill the time of (r) *Boniface* the ninth, which was eight hundred & odde yeares after; but then *Ita passim vendebantur vt jam vilescere clavium & litterarum Apostolicarum authoritas*, they flew out so fast, and at such rates, that the authoritie of Letters Apostolicall, began to grow into Contempt.

(r) Plat. in Bonif. 9.

Rustic: How came it to passe, that he did not graunt them as freely in his *Inbile* as his predecessors had done?

Iurisp: The *pompe and retinue of the Popes was growne so* (t) *great, and they so swolne with pride and aspiring thoughts*, that the ordinary revenue could not support it, wherefore needful it was that they should thinke of some new projects and inventions. It was not in the dayes of *Boniface* the ninth, as it was in the dayes of *Peter*, or when *Gregorie* the first lived. It was now an ignominie to say, *Gold and silver haue I none*, and to ride vpon an Asse.

(t) Tanta est hodiè ambitio & *superbia Pontificis*, vt in processione *Cæsaris* & *Pontificis* per vrbem *Cæsar* tenet stapham *Pontificis* quoad *Pontifex* equum ascenderat, & deinde accepto equi fræno, per aliquos passus ducit equum *Pontificis*. Vid. lib 1. sacrar. ceremoniarum *Romanæ* Eccles. *Cap.* 4. *Sect.* 5.

To ride vpon a Courser as it were a (84) *King,*
With Saddle of Gold glittering;
With curious harnesse quaintly crallet;
Stirrops gay of gold masling.

Chawcer.

(84) Quomodo *Papa* equitat in *Pontificalibus*; vide sectione 112. lib sacrar. Ceremoniarú *Romanæ* Eccles. *C.* 1.

As

As *Chawcer* obſerves, was the pride and ambition of the Popes. For maintenance whereof, all things became vendible, Parſonages, Prebendaries, and Cardinalſhips, and what not.

They maken Parſons for the pennie,
And Cannens and her Cardinalls.

Plutarch ſpeaking of (t) *Marcus Cato* ſaith, that *not onely Cato himſelfe, but his Officers were free from briberie and corruption.* And *Chawcer* ſpeaking of the Popes, ſaith, that not onely the Biſhops themſelues, but their officers doe pill and pole the people, and the Church of God.

(t) *Plut. in Marco Catone.*

The Biſhops Officers gone full gay,
The poore to pill, is all their pray.

Which gaue him occaſion confidently to affirme, that there was more goodnes in *Nero* and *Maximian*, two of thoſe ten bloudy perſecutors that occaſioned the ſpilling of ſo much Chriſtian bloud, in the time of the primitiue Church,

Then is now in one of them,
When he hath on his furred hood.

Ruſtic: Sir, you haue given me good ſatisfaction concerning the alteration of the *Iubile*, and the changing of the times for the ſolemnizatiõ thereof. I pray you ſhew me now what are the Lawes which haue beene derived out of this fourth Law of the firſt Table, for the due celebration of thoſe dayes and times, and what care and proviſion hath beene taken for the due obſervation of thoſe Lawes, eſpecially for the Lawes made for the keeping of the Lords day.

Iuriſp: You ſhall vnderſtand, that the Lawes hence

derived, are comprehended vnder thoſe titles *de feriȳs et Ceremoniȳs, de feſtis lociſq; deo dicatis, de ſacrilegiȳs, de miniſtris Eccleſiæ, Epiſcopis & Clericis.*

Ruſtic: What care hath beene taken for the obſervation of thoſe Lawes?

Iuriſp: Marry this Care; that no ſervile worke was ever to be done and performed vpon this day, becauſe it was a day which God had ſet apart for himſelfe; and therefore in the time of the primitiue Church they did diſburden themſelues of worldly cares, which did glue and faſten them to the earth, and tooke into their conſiderations, thoſe ſweet and holy meditations of the birth of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour, of his paſſion and reſurrection. Againe, this Care hath beene taken, that vpon this day divine ſervice is to be celebrated; *whither* (u) *every one is to come*, vnleſſe he haue ſome lawfull excuſe: and for default to be puniſhed by the head of the Church, or his Subſtitute, by inflicting on them a certaine mulct, as he or they in their diſcretions ſhall thinke fit. Againe, vpon this day the Supper of the Lord is to be adminiſtred, and *no man to dare to come vnto it* (w) *vnpreparedly*; and therefore this care hath beene taken, that every one that is to be a Communicant, is to reſort the day before vnto him, vnto whom the Care of Soules is Committed, to the intent that he may try and examine him, and if he find him either ignorant, or contumacious, or wavering, to inſtruct, to correct, and to confirme them. Likewiſe this care hath beene taken, that this great Supper of the Lord is not to be adminiſtred, but where there is a (x) *Competent number of Communicants.* For this great feaſt hath a kinde of reſemblance to our vſuall feaſts, where the worth and multitude of the gueſts, are the glory & honour of the feaſts. So carefull hath the Church beene in the due obſervation of this holy day. In purſuite whereof, the Kings and Queenes of *England* haue beene no leſſe carefull of it.

(u) Vide in reformatione legum Eccleſiaſticarum ab H. 8. & Ed. 6. provecta; cap. 2°. de divinis officijs.

(w) Ad ſacroſanctã Domini menſam nemo debet aſſumi, cujus fides omnibus partibus perfecta non ſit.

(x) Si menſæ Domini *legitimus (ut vocant) numerus* defuerit, nullam potiùs quàm ſolitariam eſſe volumus; ſed Miniſter ingratã et impiam populi negligentiam acriter objurgabit, quòd ab vſu celeberrimi pretioſiſſimiq; ſacramenti ſe removeant *ibid. C. 8.*

it. King *Edward* the ſixth by an Act of Parliament made in the fifth and ſixth yeare of his raigne, and Queene *Elizabeth* by an Act of Parliament made in the firſt yeare of her raigne, did in a manner confirme what ẏ Church had before agreed vpon in their ſeverall Synods and Convocations, in the dayes of King *Henry* the eight and King *Edward* the ſixth: and in thoſe ſeverall Acts of Parliament, gaue ſpeciall Charge and Commaund to the Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, and other Ordinaries to ſee the Lawes made touching the ſame, to be duely put in execution, as they would anſwere before God for ſuch evils, wherewith Almightie God may juſtly puniſh his people for neglecting ſuch good & wholeſome Lawes; giving authoritie likewiſe to the Iuſtices of peace at the quarter Seſſions to enquire of the ſame, and to puniſh the delinquents, by ſuch wayes & meanes as in the ſaid Acts are limited and appointed. So carefull were thoſe Princes to make Lawes for the due obſervation of this day. And in this they did but imitate their forefathers: for I finde in the (y) *Saxon Lawes* amongſt *the Lawes of Ina* before the Conqueſt, that *if a ſervant had done any worke by his Maiſters commaund, he was preſently to be made free,* and the Maiſter was to pay 30. s. If he did it without warrant from his Maiſter, he was to be whipt. If he were a free-man that had done it, he was to be a bondman, and to pay 60. s. If he were a Miniſter, and did ſerue at the Altar, the puniſhment was double as much as was to be inflicted vpon other tranſgreſſors. In the dayes of King (z) *Edward before the Conqueſt*, there was another Law made to *prohibit Marchandizing and Trading vpon that day*. By which if a *Dane* had bought or ſold any thing vpon that day he was to pay ſo much; if an *Engliſhman* a great deale more. The Lawes likewiſe now in force, are very tender of the obſervation of this day, and will not allow of *any* (a) *judiciall act to be done* vpon the ſame; ſo that if a fyne be levyed, and Proclamation

(y) Vide *Lambert* de priſcis Anglorum legibus, inter leges Inæ.

(z) Vide *Lambert* inter leges *Edw:*

(a) Iudices ſeculares non poſſunt juriſdictionem ſuam, neq; placita aut judicia quæcúnq; exercere diebus ab Eccleſia indictis, & in quibus populus feriari et ceſſare ſolet ab omni opere, ſub pœna nullitatis eorum omnium actuum qui his diebus facti ſunt.

(b) Dies Dominicus non est juridicus 2. *Eliz.* *Dyer, Fysh and Brockets Case.*

mation made vpon this (b) day, the Proclamation is voyde for that cause, and why, because it is a day exempt; and instituted for another purpose, and not to be numbred among the Law-dayes. Such care and provision hath beene taken for the due obseruatiõ and solemnization of this day.

Rustic: Sir, I doe not wonder that our forefathers were so carefull in the making of Lawes for the due celebration of the Lords day: for that I finde divers of the Heathens, in the celebration of their dayes set apart for the performance of their superstitious Rites and Ceremonies, to haue come very little short of them. For did not the old *Græcians*, before they received the faith of Christ, or were honoured with the title of that Church of which the (c) *golden Father Saint Chrysostome*, Saint *Origen*, *Gregory Nazianzen*, *Theophylact*, *Athanasius* were principall members, being the *Greeke* and *Easterne* Church, obserue for their Sabbath the first day of the moneth, and called it *Neomænia* or *Noviluniu*m? and did not the old *Romanes* before they knew Christ, or were honoured with the title of that Church of which Saint *Austin*, Saint *Ambrose*, Saint *Hierome*, Saint *Bernard*, Saint *Cyprian*, and *Tertullian* were pillars, being the *Latin* and *Westerne* Church, strictly obserue for their Sabbath *the* (d) *Nones and Ides*? And did not the *Macedonians* strictly obserue the day on which *Alexander* was borne, on which *Philip* got two victories; the one by his Mares at the games of *Olympus*; the other by his men of Armes in *Thracia*? And did not the *Persians* obserue strictly the day on which their rebellious *Magi* were subdued? And did not the most barbarous Nations of the Heathens, set apart some time for the adoration of their foolish and phantasticall Idols, and strictly obserue the same?

(c) *Erasmus Chrysostomum* concionatorem mellitissimũ Christiq; præconem indefatigabilem appellat, cui jure optimo (vt ait ille) ob sapientissimam eloquentiam, & eloquentissimam sapientiam oris aurei cognomen tribuitur.

(d) *Nonæ* dicuntur in *Martio*, *Maio*, *Iunio* & *Octob.* sex illi dies qui primum sequuntur; in reliquis verò mensibus quatuor tantùm illi dies primum sequentes.

Iurisp: It is most true. And certainely those Heathens that were a Law vnto themselues, knowing not the

the Law, ſhall one day giue in evidence againſt the profeſſors of the Law and Goſpell, for the breach of thoſe Lawes, which haue beene made for the due obſervation of their Sabbath.

Ruſtic: I am well ſatisfied touching the Lawes of the firſt Table; I pray you goe on vnto the ſecond Table.

Iuriſp. As out of the Lawes of the firſt Table, you haue ſeene what Lawes haue beene made concerning divine duties. So out of the Lawes of the ſecond Table, you ſhall now ſee what Lawes haue beene made concerning (*) *Diſtributiue and Commutatiue Iuſtice:* and firſt I will ſhew you the heads of the lawes which haue beene made out of the firſt Law of the ſecond Table; then what perſons are comprehended within thoſe Lawes; then what duties are enjoyned by thoſe Lawes; then what puniſhments ſome haue vndergone for tranſgreſſing of thoſe Lawes; then how carefull many of the Heathens haue beene in informing their Children in thoſe duties; and laſtly, of what antiquitie theſe Lawes are. You ſhall vnderſtand, that the Lawes hence derived, are comprehended vnder theſe heads; *de jure perſonarum de ſtatu hominum, de officijs magiſtratuum, de officio præſulis & proconſulis, de liberis agnoſcendis, de adoptionibus, de tutela &c.* and the perſons which are comprehended within them, are as well ſuperior as inferior perſons, as well Maiſters as ſervants, Tutors as Pupils, Fathers as Children; for the word *Father* is taken in a diverſe ſence: there is as well a politicke as a naturall father; Kings and Princes, ſubordinate Magiſtrates and Governours, Maiſters of families, Tutors & guardians, and generally all other as haue any power over inferior and ſubordinate perſons, are ſaid to be Fathers as well as thoſe our naturall parents that beget, breed, and cloth vs: and that all Lawes which doe binde Subjects in loyall obedience to their Soveraignes, ſervants to their

(e) Diſtributiva juſtitia eſt perſonarũ & officiorum ordinatio in omni vita publica & privata. *Hemming.*

Vt ædificaturus domum non lignum quodlibet quod caſu offertur, ſubſternit, ſed quod eſt neceſſarium: ita in repub: non cuivis munus magiſtratus imponitur, ſed idoneo, & vbi hæc juſtitia non ſervatur, actum eſt de ſalute reipub. *Hemming.*

(f) *See the dutie of Princes, ſeruants, and followers, well ſet forth by* Philip Commin: *in his third booke and twelfth Chapter.*

Principibus placuiſſe viris non vltima laus eſt. *Horat.*

Potentes oportet adorare qui paradiſum vult intrare; vt eſt in proverbio.

Omnium ſomnos regis vigilantia defendit: omnium otium illius labor; omnium vacationem illius induſtria.

Seneca de Clementia.

(45) Officia hominibus notæ prudentiæ, probitatis & earum rerum quas tractandi ſunt imprimis peritis, & ab omni factione partiúmq; ſtudio alienis; ſed ante omnia, adulatione vacuis, teterrimâ illâ regum et reipub: peſte, ſunt committenda: vt inquit Sereniſs: nuper Rex in lib. 2. ad *Henr:* nuper Principem.

(g) Quatuor numerantur bonæ matres, quæ malos parturiunt filios: *familiaritas contemptum: proſperitas ſuperbiam, veritas odium; ſecuritas periculum.* Petrarch.

(h) In famulis laudatur induſtria, vituperatur præcipitantia.

(i) Vt ſemel eſt dictum, ſemel eſt res ipſa peracta.

Quod jubeat citis quadrigis citiùs properet exequi.

Plautus.

Otho's ſouldiers are condemned in *Tacitus*, qui juſſa ducum interpretari, quàm exequi malebant.

Tacit. lib. 2. cap. 10 Hiſt.

Servo vtilius eſt parere dicto quàm afferre conſilium.

Curtius.

Maiſters, Pupils to their Tutors, are hence propagated and derived, as well as thoſe Lawes which doe binde Children to their Parents. And as concerning the duties which are here enjoyned by theſe Lawes, they are theſe ſpecially: Firſt, they doe enjoyne (f) *inferiors to giue all honour and reverence vnto ſuperiors*, eſpecially vnto thoſe that ſit in the Capitoll, & vndergoe the* ſtorms and tempeſts in the Ocean, whileſt they ſit and ſleepe ſecurely in the harbour: they enjoyne ſuperiors likewiſe to haue a vigilant care and reſpect of thoſe over whom they haue authoritie, not to place age where youth ſhould ſit, nor yet youth where age ſhould ſit; (85) *Mars where Mercurie ſhould ſit*, nor yet *Mercurie* where *Mars* ſhould ſit, for that were to put the Gyants habit vpon the little *Pigmee*, and the *Pigmees* habit vpon the great *Garagantua*: they enjoyne Maiſters to haue a due reſpect of them over whom they haue power and commaund, not to carry themſelues ſo high, as to bring themſelues into contempt, nor yet *ſo* (g) *low as to bring themſelues into neglect*; not ever to be frowning, as if there were no time to reward, nor yet ever to be flering, as if there were no time to puniſh: but to know that wages is as due to the ſervant, as a whip to the Aſſe: they enjoyne ſervants to giue all due reſpect vnto their Maiſters, yet not to be ſo (h) *obſequious as to obey them in all their commaunds*, but when they commaund thoſe things which are honeſt, and tend to their credit and reputation, to ſhew their obedience by *a readie* (i) *forwardneſſe, and forward willingneſſe*. When they commaund thoſe things which are neither fit to be commaunded nor obeyed, to expreſſe themſelues by a ſilent backwardnes; not to be a (k) *pander to the greateſt for favour or commoditie*; yet not to be faint-hearted with the (l) *Coward* in *Plutarch*, when their Maiſters honour is iniuriouſly defamed, or

(k) Ne principem ſocietate ſcelerum cum *Tigellino* obſtringere debemus. *Tacit. lib. 14. cap. 15. Annal.*

(l) *Plutarch* in *Phocione.*

their

their Miſtreſſe chaſtitie called in queſtion, but with the (*) *poore ſervant in Tacitus*, to ſtand out in their defence even againſt *Tigellinus*, who did not forbeare to tell him, queſtioning *Octaviaes* her Miſtreſſe Chaſtitie, that *Octaviaes* ſecret parts were chaſter than his mouth: at no time *to make vſe of their favours to* (m) *wrong or oppreſſe any*; yet at no time to neglect it to doe right vnto any; ever to behaue themſelues like good and faithfull ſervants, bearing in minde alwayes, that *he never deſerved the name of a* (n) *Captaine, that was never trayned vp as a Souldier*; and that he can never commaund well, that never knew how to obey well: they enjoyne husbands to giue all due reſpect vnto their wiues, as to the members of their owne bodies, not ſo to vndervalue them, as to make them their ſlaues and vaſſals, nor yet ſo to overvalue them, as to ſuffer them to be their Lords and Maſters, but ſo to carry themſelues towards them, as to goe hand in hand with them, as being members of one bodie: they enjoyne wiues likewiſe to giue all honour and reverence to their husbands, as vnto their ſuperiors, to frame and faſhion their wils & affections vnto theirs in all honeſt and neceſſary things; not then to be frowning when they are diſpoſed in a friendly and hoſpitable manner to be free and merry; nor then to be laughing and dallying, when vpon juſt ground they are full of heavineſſe and ſorrow, but ſo to behaue themſelues, that there may be but one mind in two bodies: to haue ever in their hearts the true affection of the good wiues of *Lacedæmonia*, who to ranſome their husbands, became hoſtages themſelues, and *to ſet them at libertie became* (o) *bound themſelues*: and to endevour by all meanes poſſible, to withdraw their affections from that which *all women naturallie affect* (p) *Soveraigntie*; and to know that the *French* Proverbe is moſt true:

Le maiſon eſt malheurenſe & meſchante
On le poul pluis haute que le coq Chante.

(*) *Tacit. lib 14. cap 16. Annal.*

(m) Glorior hoc vno quòd nunquam vidimus vllum,
Nec potuiſſe magis, nec nocuiſſe minùs,
Was the ſaying of K. Henry *the* 8. *of* Charles Brandon.
It is a rare commendatiõ which Sir Thomas More *gave of* Iane Shore, *that ſhee never made vſe of the Kings favours to wrong any one; but to relieve many a one.*
Sir Th: More in *Rich.* 3. *p.* 57.

(n) Non convenit talem alijs præfici in magiſterium, qui nondũ ſe novit eſſe diſcipulum.
Vt magiſter dignus ſis, obſequentem humilémq; te præbueris oportet, alioquin aberrâſti à via quæ ad magiſterium ducit.
Petrarch.

(o) *Valerius Maximus lib.* 4. *cap.* 6.

(p) *See the wife of* Bathes *tale in Chaucer.*

The houſe is never in worſe plight than when *Perlot* there, ſings a higher note than *Chaunterclere*: they enjoyne Fathers to haue a fatherly care of their children, not to be ſo *vnnaturall as* (q) *Herod was vnto his*, of whom *Auguſtus* was vſed to ſay, that it was better to be a ſow in *Herods* Country, than a ſonne in *Herods* Court: nor yet to be ſo fond of them as *the* (r) *wife of Themiſtocles was of hers*, of whom *Themiſtocles* was vſed to ſay, that his ſonne was able to doe more than any man in all *Greece*; for that the *Athenians* commaunded the *Græcians*, he commanded the *Athenians*, his wife commanded him, and his ſonne commanded her; but ſo to ballance both his meanes and affections, that the one may be knowne to be a father, the other to be a ſonne: they *enjoyne* (f) *Children to honour age, as they would haue youth*, when age ſhall haue ſeized vpon them, and haue dyed their ſable haires into a ſilver tincture, to honour them. To tread in the footſteps of (t) *Æneas*, who for that he reſcued the good old man *Anchiſes* his aged father from the fire, hath purchaſed to himſelfe for ever the name of a good Sonne; to loath and deteſt the brutiſhneſſe of *Nero*, who for that *he ſlew his* (86) *Mother to ſee the place where once he lay*, is deſervedly regiſtred for an impe of Sathan, an vnnaturall ſonne and a bloudie tyrant. To beare in minde the ſtrength of nature in the ſonne of *Cræſus*, who being dumbe from his birth, when he ſaw one readie to lay violent hands vpon his Father, cryed out with a lowd diſtinct voyce, *Hold thy hand, it is the King my Father*; and ſo the ſtrength of naturall affection vntyed the ſtrings of his tongue, and made him ſpeake that never ſpake before. To abandon the wanton vnchaſt thoughts of (u) *Iulia* the daughter of *Auguſtus*, who by her lewd and diſhoneſt courſe of life, ſo perplexed her aged Father, that as often as ſhee came into his minde, he vſed to fetch a deepe ſigh and grone, and to breake out into theſe ſpeeches.

Would

(q) Herod *cauſed his two ſonnes* Alexander *and* Ariſtobulus, *to be ſtrangled.* Ioſeph. lib. 1. de bello Iudaico.

(r) *Plutarch* in *Themiſtocle.*

(f) Non arguendi mores patrum, ſed ferendi ſunt, & de patre vel glorioſè loquendum, vel tacendum; nullum in terris juſtius imperium quàm patris, nulla honeſtior ſervitus quàm filij, nihil tam ſuum cuiq; eſt quàm filius patris, nihil cuiq; indignius eripiatur.

Petrarch.

(t) Suſtulit hic matrem: ſuſtulit ille patrem; vt de *Æneade* & *Nerone* Poeta.

(86) Sanguinis humani bibitor *Nero*, cuius & ortus, Solis & occaſus neſcit Homicidia.

Quis neſcit teneræ ſe diſſecuiſſe parentis.

(u) *Sueton.* in *Auguſto.*

Would God I never had wedded Bride:
Or elſe without any Childe had dyde.

To take into their Conſiderations *the nature of the birds called* (w) *Ciconiæ*, whoſe condition being old is to betake themſelues to their neſts, and as they fed their young ones, when they were not able to feede themſelues, ſo doe they againe relieue and ſuccour them. To beare alwayes in their mindes, what puniſhments haue beene inflicted vpon diſobedient Children even from the beginning. Theſe and the like are the duties which theſe Lawes enforce and command.

(w) *Solinus* in Collect. rerum memorabilium.
Non inutile Conſilium cujuſcunq; fuit.
Inprimis venerare Deum,
venerare parentes,
Et quos ipſa loco tibi dat natura parentum.

Ruſtic. But what is the penaltie, if a man faile in performance of theſe duties in obedience to theſe Lawes?

Iuriſp: That is the next thing which I promiſed to ſhew vnto you, and for your ſatisfaction, I would haue you looke into the Hiſtories of the Heathens, and ſee *what befell vnto* (x) *Pauſanias:* his tender-hearted mother that would haue beene the firſt that would haue rewarded him, if he had done well, was the firſt that puniſht him, becauſe he did ill. *Pauſanias* having conſpired with the *Perſians* againſt his Country, being diſcouered, betooke himſelfe to the Temple of *Pallas*, thinking to haue found ſafetie and protection in the Sanctuary. But Iuſtice whoſe hands are long, and will not ſuffer ſuch offences to eſcape vnpuniſhed, ſurpriſed him there, for the *Ephori* after ſome Conſultation had did agree, that although they could not in juſtice take him out, yet they might in juſtice keepe him in: and therefore decreed that the dores ſhould be barrocaded, and that he ſhould ſuffer for want of ſuſtenance; of which his Mother being given to vnderſtand, ſhee was the firſt that rolled the firſt ſtone vnto the dore. Looke into *Lugdunenſis*, and there you ſhall ſee this Storie in effect, though delivered in other termes. A tender-hearted Father, tendring more the welfare of his ſonne

(x) *Plu.* in *Pauſan.*

than himſelfe, voluntarily yeelded vp his whole eſtate vnto him, deſiring no more but a conuenient lodging, with neceſſary food and rayment; the ſonne for a time ſuffered his Father to want nothing that was neceſſary; but ere long it ſo fell out, that he married with a young Gentlewoman, who was ſo tender-eyed and eared, that ſhe could not endure the ſpitting and coughing of an aged man, and being often troubled with queames (a thing incident to new married wiues) ſhe ever imputed the cauſe thereof to the ſpitting and ſpawling of her aged father in-law, and tooke that occaſion to remoue him from her Table, and to haue him incorporated into the ſocietie of *Dicke* and *Will*, and the reſt of the ragged regimẽt, amongſt whom it was deſigned that he ſhould ſpend the remainder of his dayes, the old Gentleman having now no better cloths than ſuch fripperie as the Hangmans wardrope doth vſually afford, nor better a lodging than the dogs did vſually kennell in, no better companions than the brotherhood of the black-guard and the ragged regiment, he beganne to grow lowſie, whereof notice being given to my young Maiſter, he cauſed foure ells of cloth to be bought for him to make him ſhirts, but ſo courſe as they that beheld them did rather thinke them enjoyned him as a penance for ſome offence committed than for ordinarie wearing ſhirts, the which comming to the view of his little grandchild (for by that time my young Maiſter had a ſonne of a prettie ſtature) he priuily conueyed two of the ells of Cloth away, and being demaunded what he meant to doe with it, anſwered that he meant to keepe it for his Father againſt he came to the yeares of his grandfather. So is the vnnaturall ingratitude and diſobedience of Children generally requited by their Children. The like Storie hath *Diſcipulus*, where he ſhews how God doth take the quarrell of a father into his hands, and miraculouſly puniſheth a ſonne for his diſobedience, & it was as followeth.

Diſcipul. de tempus Serm. xxiiij. prope finem.

A

A tender-hearted Father having diſpoſſeſſed himſelfe of his eſtate, and made his ſonne Maiſter of it; the ſonne in requitall cauſed him with his Mother to be removed into a houſe to liue by themſelues, where wanting neceſſary food vpon a Sunday to dinner, he with his wife inuited themſelues to his ſonnes houſe, whither comming, and finding the doores faſt ſhut, he knocked to come in, but the ſonne being giuen to vnderſtand, that his Father and Mother were come to dyne with him, he cauſed *aſſaturam* the meate to be taken off the Table, and inſtead of a dinner, ſtaid their ſtomacks with a paire of ſingle pence, and ſo diſmiſt them; who no ſooner were departed, but the meate was ſet on the Table againe, and (as the Storie ſaith) the firſt morſell that the ſonne did eate, was turned into *buſonem, qui ſic ei adhæſit vt pedes ſuperiores cum duabus maxillis vna caro fierent*, into an vglie Toad; whoſe foreſeete were ſo faſtned to his jawes, as if they had beene incorporated into them whilſt the body of the toad did hang out of his mouth; to the beholding of which fearefull ſpectacle, a Prieſt being called, he openly declared, that it was the juſt judgement of God vpon him for his diſobedience and careleſſe neglect of his Father, & forthwith cauſed him to be ſent to the Arch-biſhop, before whom confeſſing his offence, he enjoyned him to be carried throughout all the chiefe Cities and Villages of note in *France*, and the young men in every Village being called together to be made acquainted how miraculouſly GOD hath puniſhed this ſonne for his diſobedience; to the end that beholding the puniſhmẽt, they might be deterred from committing the like offence. Thus miraculouſly hath God in times paſt puniſhed vnnaturall and diſobedient Children. Looke into the ſacred Scriptures, and reade over the ſtories of *Cham*, of *Reuben*, of *Abſalom*, and of the ſonnes of *Heli*, & in them you ſhall behold, ſet forth to the life, the puniſhments due to diſobedient children:

Whoſoeuer

Whoſoever curſeth his Father or Mother, ſhall dye the death, Levit. 20. Nay, *whoſoever obeyeth not his Father and Mother, him ſhall the people ſtone,* Deut. 21. ſayth the Lord.

Ruſtic: But doe temporall Lawes puniſh thoſe delinquents with death?

Iuriſp: No, not immediately. Yet generally ruine and deſtruction is the end of them; for when they fayle in performance of theſe duties, and forſake their fathers God forſakes them, and leaves them over to their vnruly luſts and affections, which leade them vnto ruine and deſtruction. So that though theſe offences be not immediately puniſht with death, yet vntimely deaths generally waite vpon them.

Ruſtic: I doe not wonder then the duties being ſo needfull, and the puniſhments ſo great, that many of the Heathens were ſo carefull in inſtructing of their Children in the knowledge of theſe duties.

Iuriſp: Nor I. In my opinion they might haue paſſed for good Chriſtians as concerning the obſervation of thoſe duties, had not their *dij deæq;* diſcovered them to be Heathens. What people in the world was ever *more carefull than the* (7) *Lacedæmonians in trayning vp of youth?* amongſt whom there was a Cuſtome that when their Children came to certaine yeares, they were to be brought forth to a certaine place, where inſtruments of all trades and occupations, and Bookes of all Arts and Sciences were to be ſet before them, to this end, to finde out their naturall diſpoſitions and inclinations, and if they found them to be *addicted to their* (87) *bookes*, they made Schollers of them, if to mechanicall inſtruments, they ſent them to the Cities: if to the inſtruments of the Country, then they ſent them thither; they knew well, that *it is a hard thing to make a good* (z) *Hawke of a Buzzard*; and that a Cat will doe her kinde: and therefore according to the naturall inclination of their Children, did they finde out fit myſteries

(7) *Lycurgus* præciplebat vt ne liberos ſuos vlli in vlla diſciplina formandos committerent, antequam annos quatuordecim plenos exegiſſent, vt ex ætate de indole judicium fieri; et quò ipſi de ſua ſponte magis inclinarent explorari poterit.

(87) *See more of this in that witty Treatiſe, intituled* Examen de ingenios. 1. & 8. cap.

(z) Non poteris rectum Cancris inducere curſum. Vide fabulam de Æthiope.

Let take a Cat and foſter her with milke,
And tender fleſh, and make the couch of ſilke;
And let her ſee a mouſe goe by the wall,
Anon ſhee weyveth milke and fleſh and couch and all.
Chawcer.

ſteries for them. Againe, what people in the world were more wittie to finde out inventions to reclaime their Children addicted to any notorious crime and vice; amongſt whom this was a Cuſtome, that if their Children were addicted to drunkenneſſe, to *cauſe one of their* (88) *ſlaues being drunke to be whipt naked in their preſence*, that they ſeeing the fowleneſſe of the offence, and the puniſhment due vnto it, might be deterred from it; if they were addicted to idleneſſe, then they cauſed the Lawes of *Boccharis* to be read vnto them, who amongſt his Lawes made ſpeciall proviſion, that all ſuch as lived vpon the ſpoyle, & had no meanes or profeſſion to live by, ſhould giue an account how they lived, and write downe their names in a ſcrowle, to the end, *their* (a) *parents might be knowne*, and ſo be debarred to vndergoe any publicke office in the Common-weale: for they held him vnworthy to governe abroad, that could not governe at home, and that he would never haue care of ſtrangers, that was ſo careleſſe of his children. If they ſaw them to neglect knowledge, then they cauſed the life of *Philip* of *Macedon*, or of *Agamemnon* to be read vnto them, the one glorying that it was his ſonnes happineſſe to be borne in *Ariſtotles* time, the other wiſhing for the *Trojans* ſake, that he had but tenne more in his Kingdome, *ſuch as* (89) *Neſtor was*, not doubting then but eaſily to ſubdue them. If they were addicted to effeminate ribaldrie, or vnſeemely dalliance, then they cauſed the life of *Cato* the *Cenſor* to be read vnto them, where they might behold how he removed *Manlius* for kiſſing his wife in the preſence of his daughter; or the ſtorie of *Hieron*, how he puniſhed *Epicharmus* for reading ſome (*) light verſes before ſome yong people: if they ſaw them to neglect their Tutors, and Gover-

(88) Rogatus *Anacharſis* quo pacto quis abſtemius fieret; ſi turpes (inquit) ebriorũ mores ante oculos ponat. *Diog. Laert.* in *Anacharſi.*

Generoſus animus faciliùs ducitur quàm trahitur.

A Lyon will be led more eaſily than drawne.

It is obſerved of the Lyon, that he will not couch for any Chaſtiſement; but whip a young Lyon before him, he preſently humbleth himſelfe.

(a) *Diodorus Siculus* lib. 1. rerum antiquarum.

Similem legem promulgavit Charondas. Si quis noverca filijs proprijs ſuperinduxiſſet, eum cenſuit à Concilio ſenatúq; patriæ penitùs ſubmovendum: nunquam ab eo exiſtimans patriæ cõſilia recta & ſalubria ſperari poſſe, qui liberis olim proprijs malè conſuluiſſet.

Diod. Sicul. lib. 12. Biblioth.

Vide fabulam de *Canibus domeſticis & venaticis*; qua oſtenditur juvenes qui nihil ſciunt haud eſſe reprehendẽdos, quin eorum parentes qui ſic educaverunt.

(89) Pluris facienda eſt parva Veteranorũ manus, quàm indoctorũ multitudo. *Veget.*

Old Souldiers are the beautie of a State.

Old Doctors can deepe matters well debate:

Where graue men rule, the Commirie ſtill is glad,

And where they lacke, the fortune is but ſad.

As all things doe to skill and knowledge yeeld; *So old men beare the honour of the field.*

Old wood inflamed doth yeeld the braveſt fire, *When younger doth in ſmoke his vertue ſpend.*

(*) Ariſtotle *forbiddeth not onely wanton talke, but laſcivious Pictures.*

Ariſtot. lib. 7. polit.

nors, then they sent them to Schoole to (b) *Xantippus his dog*, or *Alexanders* (c) *Bucephalus*, that were most tender and respective of their Maisters. So that I say, had not their *dij deaq́*, discovered them to be Heathens, they might well haue passed for good Christians, as concerning the trayning vp of their Children in the duties enjoyned by these Lawes.

Rustic: Sir, hitherto you haue given me good satisfaction, I pray you let me craue an answere vnto one question, and so I will forbeare to trouble you any further at this time touching these Lawes of soveraigntie and subjection; whether the Lawes derived out of those sacred Lawes, which doe enjoyne the duties before mentioned, had their originall from auncient or from moderne times, or no?

Iurisp: Certainely, they had their originall from the beginning of times, long before the Lawes of *Moses* were written, even from the Law of nature; for no sooner had God reared vp the great fabricke of the world, but in the chiefest place thereof he placed the Sunne, and gaue it a dominion over the rest of the Planets; no sooner had he created the sublunary world, but he gaue dominion to the Lyon over the beasts of the field, to the Eagle over the fowles of the ayre, to the Whale over the fishes of the Sea, to the Cedar over the Trees of the Forrest: yea, no sooner did *Adam* begin to encrease and multiplie vpon the face of the earth, but he gaue to every father of a familie power and authoritie over his familie, yea no sooner did the waters in the dayes of *Noah* betake themselues to their wonted Chanels, and the Children of *Noah* to spread themselues vpon the face of the earth, but he gaue power and authoritie to the sonnes of *Iaphet* and *Sem*, to governe and rule over the posteritie of *Cham*, a (d) *servant of servants was he vnto his brethren*. So that you see that from the beginning, long before the dayes of *Moses*, there was soveraigntie

(b) *What loue* Xantippus *his dog bore vnto him, see* Plutarch *in* Themistocle.

(c) *What loue* Alexand: Buceph: *bore to him*, vide anteà. fol. 48.

Frequenter Christus & Apostolus mittunt nos ad bruta animalia, vt discamus ex ijs quid agendum, & quid fugiendum: & ideò apud *Iobum* dicitur, interroga quæso pecus & docebit te, et avem cæli & annunciabit tibi.

(d) *Gen. 9. vers. 25.*

raignтie and ſubjection, not onely among the reaſonable, but even among the inanimate ſenſitive and vegetative Creatures.

Ruſtic: You haue given me good ſatisfaction, I pray you goe on, and ſhew me what Lawes are derived out of the ſecond Law of the ſecond Table.

Iuriſp: I will therein ſatisfie you; but firſt I will ſhew whence this word *murther* is derived, and what it is; then how the Civill and Common Law doe differ in ſetting forth the divers kindes of *Homicide*; then the Lawes that puniſh thoſe offences, and laſtly, the puniſhments that thoſe Lawes haue provided. You ſhall vnderſtand, that ſome will haue the word *Murther*, to be derived from the Latines of *Mors dira*, *dira* being an Epithet which they did cõmonly vſe when they would ſet forth any thing to haue happened in any extreame manner, being borrowed from *Diræ* the furies or implacable ſpirits of hell, as *diræ depræcationes*, *deteſtatio dira*, *naufragia dira*, *mors dira*, *aconita dira*, *lues* or *fames dira*; others will haue it to proceede from the *Saxon* word *Mordren*, which is a wilfull killing of a man vpon malice afore-thought: others from the *French* word *Meurtre*, which is *Homicide* or killing. *Homicide* being then committed *cum homo occiditur*: others wayving the Etimologies, as *Bracton*, who lived in the dayes of King *Henry* the third, and *Britton*, who lived in the dayes of King *Edward* the firſt, will haue *murther* to be that kinde of *Homicide*, *Quod nullo ſciente, nullo præſente, nullo videnте, nullo audiente, clàm perpetratur*: that was done ſo ſecretly that no man was preſent at the doing of it, no man knew of it, no man ſaw it, no man heard of it; ſo that it ſhould ſeeme by their deſcriptions, that no *Homicide* was ſaid to be a murtherer, vnleſſe he had done it cloſely and ſecretly, eyther by poyſoning or ſome magicall Enchantments in invocating of ſome damned ſpirits, or by ſome other ſecret meanes, of which no pub-

Bracton lib. 3.
Britton Cap. 6.

like teſtimonie could be given. But in after times it was manifeſtly expreſſed, that not onely they whom *Bracton* and *Britton* make mention of, but all other *Homicides*, who vpon malice fore-thought, doe bereaue any of the Kings Subiects, whether natives or aliens, vnder the Kings protection, of their lives, are ſaid to be murtherers. Murther being a wilfull killing of a man in cold bloud, vpon malice forethought. In the ſetting forth of the divers kindes of *Homicides*, the *Civilians* doe differ from the profeſſors of the Common Law; for the *Civilians* doe reduce all manner of *Homicides* to one of theſe three, either to *Homicide* done (f) *ex caſu, ex neceſſario*, or *ex deſtinato*: In the firſt they doe include all ſuch *Homicides* as are committed accidentally, as if it happen by the throwing of a ſtone, by the ſhooting of an Arrow, or by the running of an Horſe, or by ſuch like caſuall meanes, that one man againſt his will takes away the life of another: In the ſecond, they doe include all ſuch *Homicides* as happen to be cõmitted in the defence of a mans owne perſon, or his poſſeſſions; as if a Theife happen to aſſault him vpon the Kings high way, or to breake into his houſe to rob it; or if vpon any other occaſion, a man is iniuriouſly aſſaulted, and in defence of his perſon, or poſſeſſions, death enſue: In the third, they doe include all ſuch *Homicides* as are committed out of rancor or an inveterate malice, when one man out of a deadly hatred ſets vpon another, and purſues him to death. So doe the *Civilians* diſtinguiſh the divers kindes of *Homicides*; the profeſſors of the Municipall Lawes of this Nation doe otherwiſe diſtinguiſh them, that is, by murther man-ſlaughter without malice, *felo de ſe*, or killing of ones ſelfe, man-ſlaughter in his owne defence, and man-ſlaughter *ex caſu & accidenti*: So that whereas the *Civilians* doe place *felo de ſe* in an equall degree with murther, the Common Lawes doe diſtinguiſh them, becauſe as it is not an offence of ſo

(f) *Fulbecks* Parall:

ſo high a nature as murther is, vnleſſe it be committed by a Malefactor vpon himſelfe, to prevent his tryall by the Law, ſeeing that it extends no further then to the perſon of himſelfe, and is committed oftentimes *ex infortunio*, either by reaſon of the extremitie of ſome diſeaſe and ſickneſſe, or by reaſon of ſome agonie and perplexitie of minde; yet on the other ſide, it is not ſo much favoured in the Law as an act done *ex caſu & accidenti*; and therefore aptly and vpon good ground haue the Common Lawes diſtinguiſht this kinde of man-ſlaughter from the other three, *ex deſtinato, ex caſu, & neceſſario*. Now although the Lawes doe varie as concerning the divers kindes of *Homicide*, yet doe they agree in ſetting forth the nature of thoſe *Homicides*, for both Lawes doe agree that to be murther which is committed out of an inveterate malice for ſome ſuppoſed offence to be given before; ſuch as was in the beginning of the world, the murther of *Cain* vpon the beloved of God his brother *Abel*. *Homicide ex neceſſario* they doe likewiſe agree to be then committed, when as the offender having vſed all meanes he can to prevent an vntimely death, is of neceſſitie at laſt compelled *to requite* (8) *Haman with the reward which he provided for Mordochæus*. *Homicide* likewiſe *ex caſu*, they doe likewiſe agree to be then committed, when as a man having no evill in his thoughts, doth yet notwithſtanding againſt his will take away the life of another, as it often happeneth in the caſes before mentioned, in the ſhooting of Arrowes, the running of Horſes, and the like, ſo farre doe both Lawes agree: the diſagreemẽt then conſiſteth in this, the Civill Lawes doe include all *Homicides* within theſe, *ex caſu, ex neceſſario, & ex deſtinato*, the Common Lawes doe not.

(8) *Heſter 7. v. 10.*

Ruſtic: Sir, you haue ſufficiently ſhewed wherein the Lawes doe agree, and diſagree, concerning *Homicides*: I pray you in the next place, what are the Lawes that puniſh theſe *Homicides?*

Iuriſp: The Lawes which puniſh theſe *Homicides*, are comprehended vnder theſe titles, *de Homicidijs*, *de Parricidijs*, *de Sicarijs*, *de Talione*, and the like, which haue beene aptly termed by the Auncients eyther Lawes of (*) *Commonition* or Lawes of *Animadverſion*.

(*) *Plat.* in *Gorg.*

Ruſtic: What are the Lawes of *Commonition*, as you call them, I pray you?

Iuriſp: They are ſuch as are vſed to prevent and extirpate the growing evils, and to take away the cauſes and occaſions of thoſe many quarrels, Combats, manſlaughters, and murthers, which are ſo often committed in the Common-wealth: which haue their originall moſt commonly from offenſive provoking words, afterwards breake forth into blowes, vntill at laſt they come to mortall ſtrokes, wherefore *the* (h) *Lawes haue beene ever carefull to provide* to prevent a miſchiefe whileſt it is in growing, to nip the fruit whileſt it is in the bud, to puniſh words in a ſharpe and ſevere manner, blowes in a more ſevere manner, and death that enſueth with the greateſt ſeveritie that may be. And for that purpoſe the Lawes haue provided ſeverall actions according to the nature of the ſeverall wrongs done and committed: actions of the Caſe to ſtop the mouthes of brawling and backbiting perſons, and actions of Treſpaſſe and *Mayhem*, to binde to the peace and good behaviour, quarrelling offenſive perſons, which ſeverall actions may well be ſaid to be *Lawes of* (i) *Commonition*, or warning peeces vnto them, to advertiſe them to take heede how they run into further danger.

(h) Per ſtatuta vrbis Romæ ſi quis alicui verba iniurioſa animo honorem ſugillandi dixerit, aut protulerit, pœnam decem ducatorũ auri incurrat; vel arbitrio ſenatoris corporali pœnâ plectatur; perſonarum & verborũ qualitate perpenſâ.

Vid. Sext. vrbis Romæ de verbis iniurioſis, *cap.* 71.

(i) *Commonitio* fit, cùm ei qui peccavit levi coertione multa dicta eſt, vt ad benè vivendum emendatior ſit.

Plato in *Gorgia* & *Alexand.* ab *Alexand. lib.* 3. *cap.* 5.

Ruſtic: And what are the Lawes of *Animadverſion*, as you terme them?

Iuriſp: They are *thoſe* (k) *Lawes which puniſh delinquents, when an offence is committed*, that by their example others may be warned and admoniſhed.

(k) *Animadverſio*, non ipſius qui pœna afficitur, ſed reliquorum qui ſuperſunt gratiâ adhibetur, vt metu pœnæ reliqui eadem nozâ deterreantur.

Plato in *Gorgia.*

Ruſtic: And how are they puniſhed?

Iuriſp: Either by Inditements at the ſuit of the King, becauſe

becauſe that he hath loſt a ſubject; or by appeale at the ſuite of the partie, becauſe that he hath loſt a Father, a brother, or a kinſman.

Ruſtic: I pray you giue me leaue to expoſtulate a little with you concerning the Lawes of *Commonition*. Will you haue a man to appeale to the Law for every idle word that falleth?

Iuriſp: Old *Geffery Chawcer* will tell you (l) no; nor yet to quarrell vpon every idle occaſion, when as he may *reſort to the Law and haue* (m) *redreſſe*.

Ruſtic: Fleſh and bloud cannot endure to heare himſelfe to be called a (*) *Traytor, a murtherer of his father, a departer from his Captaines banner, a deflowrer of Virgins, a falſe informer, and teller of tales to his Soveraigne*, neither to haue the honour which he hath purchaſed with the hazard of his life, to be attributed to another, as when that he hath beene the firſt that hath iſſued out of a beſieged Citie, & given the onſet to the enemie, and made him recoyle; and the laſt that hath returned, or when that he hath beene the firſt that hath ſcaled the walls of a Citie, and ſet vp his Enſigne in honour of it, and another hath vſurpt and ſet vp his; or when he hath taken an enemie priſoner, and brought home his Armes with him, & another hath iniuriouſly challenged it; or when he hath beene the man that hath guarded ſuch a Fort, kept ſuch a bridge or paſſage, maugre all the fierce and furious aſſaults of his Antagoniſts; or when on the other ſide, he hath beene the man that with the perill of his life, and the liues of ſuch as he hath commaunded, hath driven the enemy from ſuch a Hold, or made his way with his ſword over ſuch a paſſage, and another hath challenged it: theſe things, I ſay, being againſt the Lawes of Armes, fleſh and bloud cannot endure, but it will diſcover it ſelfe in paſſion.

Iuriſp: It is true, if a man had no more then fleſh and bloud in him, then Buls & Beares, then Dogs & Cocks, he

(l) *Had I venged all my harme,*
My coate had never kept me
halfe ſo warme.
Chawcer.

(m) *See the Statute of the 13. yeare of* Richthe 2. *cap.* 2. *by which, power is given to the Lord* Marſhall *and* Conſtable *of* England *to punish words.*

(*) *To be ſcandaliſed by the name of a Traytor, a murtherer, a departer from his banner, a raviſher, a falſe informer of his Soveraigne, are ſcandals of the higheſt nature; for whoſoever is a Traytor, by the Lawes of Armes is to haue his Coate-Armour rated, his Shield reverſed, his Speare trunked, his Spurres hewen from his heeles, his horſe docked, his ſword broken vpon his helmet, his Creſt divided, his Statues pulled downe, his blond corrupted, his poſſeſſions taken from him, and his body tortured* quia memoriæ eorum deſtrui debent.

A deflowrer of Virgins by the Lawes of Armes, is to haue his Eſcutchion reverſed.

A teller of falſe tales to his Soveraigne, is branded by the Lawes of Armes with a Diminution in his Coate; and ſo is a departer from his Captaines Banner.

he could hardly containe himſelfe: *the little Worme will turne if he be trod vpon*; the (*) *Buls will kicke if they be wearied*; *the dogs will bite or barke at leaſt*; *the Cocks will ſpurre if they be ſet vpon*; but it is becauſe they want vnderſtanding: but for a *man that liues in a* (n) *ſetled gouernment vnder a happie Prince*, where the Courts of Iuſtice are open, whereunto every one may reſort & haue redreſſe for all wrongs and iniuries done and committed: to kicke & bite and barke, he can *purchaſe no* (o) *fame or renowne by it*; whoſoeuer will be accounted truely valiant, muſt arme himſelfe with wiſedome and diſcretion, to know when, and where, and againſt whom to draw his ſword; for to fight vpon all occaſions given, is a fooliſh hardineſſe or raſh forwardneſſe; not to fight when juſt occaſion is given, is baſe cowardlineſſe. But then to fight *when* (p) *Religion and thy Countrey is at ſtake*, is true valour & magnanimitie; to fight with thy friend, thy Countryman, or thy ſuppoſed enemy for a word fallen in heate, or by reaſon of ſome offence taken, ariſing from ſome falſe rumor, which was never given, or indeed vpon any occaſion, be the quarrell never ſo juſt, to make thy owne Country a Cock-pit, and to ſheath thy ſword in the bowels of thy Countryman, thou canſt purchaſe no honour, the greateſt glory that thou ſhalt gaine ſhall be this, that *thou haſt ſpirit & life in thee*, (q) *a Cocke or dog will deſerve as much*. If thou wilt purchaſe fame and renowne in the performances of noble atchievements, goe as thy fore-fathers did vnto *Malta*, vnto *Rhodes*, and vnto *Argyers*, there ſhalt thou finde fit ſkabbards to ſheath thy ſword in, enemies fit for thee to encounter withall; where thou maiſt winne glory by the Conqueſt, and triumph in the Victorie. Or if thou wilt needes fight, learne of (r) *Auguſtus* when to draw thy ſword, adventure not thy life to nothing, yea to that which is worſe than nothing, to ſhame and ignominie, he will tell thee, that thou oughteſt not to fight but when

(*) Feris natura præſcripſit, vt omnem ſemper vim à corpore, à capite, à vita ſua propulſarent.

Cicero.

(n) In otio Civili, & domeſtica quiete, cruenta ſpectacula ſibi non placere, dicere ſolebat *Conſtans*: *Imperator*; eáq; de cauſa gladiatores omninò prohibebat.

(o) Militis eſt, vtcúnq; furit, cohibere furorem.

Fortem manſuetum eſſe oportet, vt proximi non tam metuant, quàm reverentur.

Diog. Laert. in Chilone.

(p) Frangit et attollit vires in milite cauſa,
Quæ niſi juſta ſubeſt, excutit arma pudor.

Propert.

Cauſa juber ſuperos melior ſperare ſecundos.

Lucan.

Si certet aliquis non coronatur niſi legitimè certaverit, 2 *Timoth.* 2. *v.* 5.

Sicut prudentia ſine juſtitia calliditas eſt; temperantia ſine fortitudine ignavia eſt; juſtitia ſine temperantia crudelitas eſt; ita fortitudo ſine prudentia temeritas eſt.

(q) *This offence in the Edict of the* French *King*, *K.* Henry *the* 4. *is termed a brutiſh madneſſe, and is made high treaſon: in which Edict the King doth ſweare by the ever-liuing God, never to graunt any pardon to any that ſhall derogate from it.*

See the *French* Hiſt. in *H.* 4.

Titus Manlius Torquatus Cõſul filium ſuum quòd præter mandatum extra ordinem duello pugnâſſet, tametſi fœliciter, ſecuri percuſſit.

Sleid. lib. 1. *de* 4 *Monarch.*

(r) *Suetonius in Auguſto.*

when there is more hope of gaine, than feare of losse; for that a Victorie cannot adde so much vnto thee, as a disastrous fortune may derogate from thee; who will adventure a golden hooke for a small Fish, the losse whereof the greatest Whale in the Ocean cannot countervaile: and who but a fiery, forward foole will adventure his life to nothing. *Learne againe of* (f) *Romulus and Acron, of* (*) *Harold, and William the Conquerour; of Charles the fifth, and Frauncis the first:* (**) *let thy Combating be to rescue poore innocent soules from death and destruction.* *Charles* the fifth being at variance with *Frauncis* the first, in which quarrell many Christian Princes were interessed, and many harmeles soules like to suffer by it. *Charles* being moved as he made shew with a Christian compassion and Princely care, having in some respect, a care of such his enemies as were drawen into the quarrell as friends and allyes, by secondary meanes made this proposition to the Kings Embassadour, that the Controversie betweene them might be ended by a single Combate, which comming to the vnderstanding of the *French* King, he willingly embrac't it, and glad he was to haue any occasion to requite him for the entertainment which he gaue him at the siege of *Pavia*: so that in a publicke assemblie for that purpose called together in the presence of all or most of the Princes of the bloud, in the presence of all forraine Embassadours at that time residing in *Fraunce*: the Emperors Embassador being then present in his publicke Hall in his Court at *Paris* he caused one of his Secretaries of State with a lowd voyce to reade a Cartell signed with his owne hand, to this effect; that the Emperour accusing him to haue falsified his faith, had spoken vntruely, and that as often as he had or should say so, he gaue him the lye; and to the end he should not deferre the deciding of the Controversie by the Combate, he wished him to appoint the place, and that he would be readie with his

(f) *Plut. in Romulo.*

(*) *William Malmesb. lib. 3. de gestis regum Angliæ.*

(**) Vtile est aliquando reipub: vt pugnet duo inter se ex pacto, ideoq; monomachia inter duos reges in regno *Sicilia* à Martino *Pontifice* fuit concessa.

Beroy: Mirandus de singulari certamine.

Similiter monomachia fuit cõcessa inter *Robertũ Mountfordium*, & *Henric. Comitem Essex* per *Henric.* secundum regem Angliæ pro eo quòd idem *Robertus* accusavit eundem *Henric.* de crimine læsæ majestatis.

Math. Paris in H. 2.

Item concessa fuit monomachia inter *Henric. Hereford* ducem & *Tho: Mowbray* ducem *Norf:* tempore *Rich.* 2. pro simili causa.

Item inter *Iob: Ansley* militem & *Tho: Carthrington* Armigerũ regnante eodem Rege. *Tho. Walsing. in R.* 2.

Vtile enim est reipub. vt pugnarent, licèt enim privata sit causa, sequitur tamen vtilitas publica; nam si non pugnarent, amici & affines persequerentur injurias eorum vsq; ad mortem, & ita vniversa Civitas (vt multis locis accidit) vexaretur.

Armes either on the Sea or on the Land, on horſebacke or on foote, and that if he ſhould not perſevere in that his reſolution, he would proclaime his Cowardiſe to all the Chriſtian world: theſe are wayes fit *for Generalls to purchaſe* (t) *honour by*, fit for Princes to treate of onely, to endeare their ſubjects vnto them, not fit for ſubjects to ſuffer their Princes, in the ſafetie of whoſe perſon their welfare doth conſiſt, to put them in execution; but to fight at home in a Taverne, or at an Ordinarie, at a play, or in the ſtreets, in out-braving of Iuſtice with a poore Serjeant, where to overcome will be *a greater* (91) *diſadvãtage vnto thee then to be overcome.* When thou ſhalt be dragged along, not like a victorious Captaine, but a ſervile Captive, to enhabite with theeues, rogues, and vagabonds, vntill thou haſt vndergone the ſharpe and ſevere ſentence of the Law; when thy Lands and goods ſhall be confiſcate, and it may be conferred vpon thy perſecutors; when thou thy ſelfe ſhalt hang tottering betweene heaven and earth as vnworthy of either; when thy veynes ſhall become like *Mare mortuum*, and thy bloud which was vſed like Chryſtall ſtreames to flow from thy liver as from a cleare fountaine, ſhall putrifie and be corrupted; when thy harmeleſſe poſteritie, the childe vnborne in his Mothers wombe, that never knew evill, ſhall ſmart for thy offence, and thy leproſie ſticke as cloſe vnto him, as did *the leproſie of* (a) *Naaman vnto Gehazi*, and his poſteritie; when as thoſe auncient poſſeſſions of thine, which thy fore-fathers enjoyed for many deſcents together, and which ſhould haue deſcended vnto thy Children, hadſt not thou broken the bridge which ſhould haue conveyed it vnto them, ſhall be turned another way; when the very name of thee, ſo long as any of thy poſteritie ſhall remaine vpon the face of the earth, ſhall be odious and contemptible: this can be no honour vnto thee; therefore if thou wilt haue honour on earth, or glory in heaven,

(t) Cùm Xenoph. filium ſuum majorem in prælio cecidiſſe audivit, coronam deponere conſentus eſt, ſed cùm fortiſſimè pugnantem corruiſſe audivit, coronam capiti repoſuit, & teſtatus ſe majorem ex filij virtute voluptatem, quàm ex morte amaritudinem ſentire.

Valer. Max. lib. 5.

(91) Id gerere bellum cupitis in quo eſt optimũ vinci: vt loquitur de *Eteocle & Polynice.*

Senec. in Thebaide.

(a) 2 *Kings* 5. *v.* 27.

ven, thou must obserue and keepe the Lawes derived out of this sacred Law; *Thou shalt doe no murther.*

Rustic: Sir, what are the Lawes, I pray you, that are so strict, in Case a man doe happen vnfortunately to commit wilfull murther?

Iurisp: Even the Lawes of thine owne Countrey, which haue for their warrant the Lawes of God: the Lawes of all Nations doe the like, yea, the Lawes of the most barbarous Heathens.

Rustic: Doe the Lawes of God commaund such punishments to be inflicted vpon such malefactors?

Iurisp: Yes indeede; by the Lawes of God, *whosoever shedeth mans* (w) *bloud, by man shall his bloud be shed againe.* It was a Law pronounced in the beginning, and ratified by the Court of heaven, and to this day never abrogated. *Cain* suffered vnder this Law, yet *Cain* liued long before this Law was written. *Iezabel, Absalom,* and many others likewise of whom the sacred Scripture makes mention, suffered vnder it. Reade but the storie of (x) *Cain* and *Abel,* of (y) *Iezabel* and *Naboth,* of (z) *Absalom* and *Ammon,* how God doth punish such offenders; besides *the secret* (a) *punishments of the Conscience,* which is the most indefatigable Sollicitor, and severest enemie and persecutor, that will ever torment and trouble them, presenting vnto them in the most vglie and deformed shapes all those punishments which are provided for such malefactors, that will not suffer their beds to giue them rest, nor their food nourishmēt; their beds yeelding nothing but wearinesse, and their food loathsomnesse vnto them, that makes all places tedious, and all companies troublesome; when they are in the Citie to long after the Country, when they are in the Country, to desire as much to returne againe; *like vnto the* (b) *hurt Deere,* sometimes to desire the shadie groues, sometimes the Sunnie-bankes, sometimes the coole Rivers, sometimes the dry and thirstie land, sometimes

(w) *Gen. 9. v. 5.*

(x) *Gen. 4.*

(y) 1 *Reg.* 21.

(z) 1 *Sam.* 13. & 18.

(a) *How our sinnes are laid open to vs, see* Beda *in his Historie of* England, *lib. 5. cap.* 14. & 15.
Sueton: in *Nerone* 34 & *Corn: Tacitus, lib.* 14. *cap.* 3 *Annal. Phil: Commin: lib.* 7 *cap.* 11.
Sir *Tho More* in *Rich.* 3. *p.* 63.
Pæna autem vehemens & multò sævior illis,
Quas & *Caditius* gravis invenit & *Rhadamanthus.*
Nocte diéq; suum gestare in pectore testem.
Iuvenal.

(b) Quàm procul incautam nemora inter *Cressia* fixit
Pastor agens telis ——
—— illa fugâ;
—— Silvas, saltúsq; peragrat
Dict. cos ——
Sed frustrà, quia hæret lateri lætàlis arundo.
Virg.

times to heard themselues, thinking by companie to cure their maladies; sometimes againe to betake themselues into the Desert, but all in vaine; *the place they may change, but the* (c) *maladie they cannot*: So that neither *Bacchus*, nor *Venus*, neither Citie nor Country, nor any thing indeede can afford them comfort, every place being a dungeon, and every sight as terrible as the *Basiliske* vnto them, all musicke being but discord, and all recreations being but trouble vnto them, so will their Consciences torture & torment them, vntill it hath brought them to the Tribunall of their Creator, where then it becomes as sharpe and severe a Iudge in denouncing of judgement, as it was before in sollicitation and prosecution, laying to their Charge *things done after many yeares past, as if it had beene done but the* (d) *day before*; I say, besides those secret punishments of the Conscience, God hath yet provided more open and notorious punishments; rather than *Cain* shall escape vnpunished, one of his owne flesh and bloud shall be made an instrument to revenge the death of *Abel*; rather than *Iezabel* shall escape vnpunished, the dumbe creatures shall be made instruments to take revenge, the dogs shall eate *Iezabel*; rather than *Absalom* shall escape vnpunished, the vegetatiue Creatures shall become revengers of the death of *Ammon*, the Trees shall hang *Absalom* by the haires of his head; rather than the death of *Ibicus* shall escape vnpunished, the *fowles of the ayre, the* (e) *Cranes shall discover the murtherers*; rather than the death of *Cæsar* shall escape vnpunished, *the very* (f) *dagger that slew him shall be made the instrument to take revenge of his murtherers.*

Rarò antecedentem scelestum, Horat.
Deseruit pede pœna claudo. *Car. lib. 3. Od. 2.*

God never suffers any crying sinn to escape vnpunished, *but*

(c) Τὸν τοπὸν, ὃ τὸν τροπὸν, *vt eleganter Græci.*
Balsama non prosunt ægris, nec aromata; morbus
Est gravior quàm qui pendet ab artis ope.
Externa omnia leviter nec in longum nos tangunt, interna sunt quæ angunt; vt magis in morbo judicantur, qui tabe, aut marcore laborãt, quàm qui febre, & tamẽ hæc magis apparent: sic in majore pœna sunt improbi, qui lento passu ducuntur ad interitum. *Lips.*

(d) *Bed. lib. 5. cap. 14. & 15.*

(e) *Plutarch* de garrulitate.

(f) *It is reported by the Romane-Writers, that foure of those that imbrued their hands in the bloud of* Cæsar, Brutus, *and* Cassius, *and the two* Cascaes, *came to vntimely deaths with the same dagger that slew him; and not one of the rest being many, dyed a naturall death, or survived him aboue three yeares.*
See the Annotat. vpon *Sueton.* in the latter end of the life of *Cæsar.*

but (g) *first or last he meets with the delinquent*; *Caligulam in primo Tyrannidis suæ cursu sustulit, Neronem grassari paulo diutius sivit, diutissimè Tiberium*; he nipt *Caligula* in the bud, *Nero* in the blossome, *Tiberius* at full growth. *Atreus* and *Thyestes* peradventure in the first and second Scæne of the Tragedie, may be lifted vp on high, rule and governe, set vp and pull downe at their wils and pleasures, *sed fadè ruunt in extremo*; in the last part of it they are brought low enough. *Tiberius* for a time may sway the Scepter, but before his death wee shall heare him *call and cry vpon the* (h) *Gods and Goddesses to rid him out of his paine*. *Nero* may for a time swill himselfe in innocent bloud, but in the end we shall heare him pittifully complaining and crying, (*) *Nec amicum habeo nec inimicum*, haue I neither friend nor foe that will doe me that curtesie, as to ease me of my miserie? It is said of *Augustus*, *that he was* (i) *vnhappie in his Livia, in his Iulia, in Tiberius*; in *Livia*, that his wife which lay in his bosome, should be (92) *the plotter of his death*: in *Iulia*, that shee who was his beloved daughter, should turne whore, and leade a lewd and dishoneſt course of life; in *Tiberius*, that the sonne of his enemy should inherite his possessions. Punishments indeede greater than a man could well wish to befall vnto an enemy, yet the greatest of them is not to be parallelled to the least that the murtherer vndergoes; punished is he in his conscience with the guilt of an abominable act done; punished is he in his posteritie, his Children, poore Children that never had evill in their thoughts, are in a sort bastardised & made incapable to inherit his possessiõs; punished is he in his goods and Chattels, strangers and enemies enjoy those things, which his Aunce stors carefully gathered together; punished is he in his death, an ignominious death doth he vndergoe: and well were it for him if his punishments might end there; but it cannot be; death shall be but as a gate to let him in into a place,

(g) Sera licèt, tamen est vltio certa Dei.
See Phil: Commin: *lib.* 3. *cap.* 4. *fol.* 90.
Qui crimen gestat in pectore, idem Nemesin in tergo gestare solet.

Lipsi: lib. 2 de const. *cap.* 23. *See the tragicall Histories of* Grand-Pree & Mermanda, *of* Mortaigne *and* Iosselina, *of* Alsemero *and* Beatrice Ioanna, *of* Alibius *and* Merilla, *of* Sypontus *and* Victorina, *of* Antonio *and* Berinthia, *of* Beville *and* Laurietta, *of* Castelnovo *and* Perina, *of* Sturio *and* Paulina, *how murther never escapes vnpunished.*

(h) Tacit. lib. 6. cap. 1. Annal.

(*) *Lipsi: lib.* 2. de Constan. *cap.* 14.

(92) ——Te Livia sortis
Dicitur humanæ misto admonuisse veneno.

Gehennæ descriptio.

where, whereſoever he turneth himſelfe, he ſhall behold nothing but hydeous and fearefull apparitions.

Hic lachrymas fruſtrà mittunt, ibi pectora tundunt,
Hic lacerant crines, ibi ſtridենt dentibus, hîc ſtat
Pallor iners, illic macies ſedet, horror vtrinq; eſt,
Hic rotat Ixion, hic ſaxum Siſyphus vrget;
Hic Titium laniat vultur, ſtat Tantalus illic
Perpetuò ſitiens, ſatians ſua viſcera nunquam.
Aſpice de dextra furijs agitatur Oreſtes,
Hic Nero qui toties humano ſanguine mundum
Polluit, impuro ſaturat ſua viſcera tabo.
Quiq; in Chriſticolas varijs Caligula pœnis
Sævit aſſiduis, hic cæditur ipſe flagellis,
Hic Heliogabalus ſtat, Sardanapalus & illic.
Luxuriæ quæ ſunt condigna ſtipendia nôrunt,
Indulgere gulæ quid ſit: de parte ſiniſtra
Aſpice, Neſtorius, Donatus & Arrius illic
Semper inextinctis torrentur in ignibus, iſtic
Perpetuis tenebris ſemper calentibus vndis
Damnantur monachi, jacet hic mercator, & illic
Cauſidicus, baſulus copulantur, & Aulicus æquè.
Doctus, iners, opulentus, inops, expertus & expers,
Prodigus & parcus vinclis ſtringuntur eiſdem,
Ruſticus & Princeps, nullo diſcrimine, vbiq;
Horridus eſt clamor, ſingultus & vndiq; luctus.

In this place one ſighing and ſobbing to no purpoſe, in that place another beating of his breaſts to as little, in this one tearing of his haire, in that another gnaſhing of his teeth, in this ſtanding grimme palenes, in that ſitting pale leaneneſſe, here *Ixion* turning of his wheele, there *Siſyphus* rolling of his ſtone, here the furies vexing and tormenting of *Oreſtes*, there *Nero* that drencht himſelfe in innocent bloud, drinking of gore bloud & poyſon, here *Caligula*, whoſe thoughts were ever buſied in inventing

inventing of new torments to punish Christians, beaten with continuall stripes, there *Heliogabalus* and *Sardanapalus* full of sores and botches and boyles, the deserved wages of wantonnesse and luxurie; here *Nestorius*, *Donatus*, and *Arrius*, burning in (93) *fire that never goes out*, there the Monkes boyling in scalding water in perpetuall darkenesse; here the Merchant, there the Lawyer, the Porter and the Courtier coupled together; for here there is no difference betweene learned and vnlearned, rich and poore, experienced and vnexperienced, prodigall & miserable, Prince and people; all are bound vp in chaines together without any distinction: every corner being filled with hydeous cryes and lamentations; into this stinking Dungeon, I say, motted about with Stygian standing waters, shall he be carried to liue perpetually, that is guiltie of the shedding of innocent bloud.

(93) *Ad mala seruantur non moriturus malis.*

Rustic: But doe the Lawes of other Nations punish murther with such heavie punishments as the Lawes of *England* doe?

Iurisp: Yes certainely: the Lawes of the Heathens doe so.

Rustic: How commeth it to passe then that in *Rome* there was no Law to punish Parricides?

Iurisp: Certainly (k) *Romulus never thought that any man was so barbarous to commit such a fact*; who being demaunded this question, gaue this reason: therefore the old *Romanes* did rather thinke these men to be Tygres and Wolues, than reasonable men, and provided punishments for them accordingly; for they did vsually *put them into a* (l) *sacke, with an Ape, a Cocke, and a Viper*, to the intent that they might take some reuēge of them, and after cast them into *Tyber*: and *the* (m) *Persians did vsually call such bastards*, for they supposed they never had Fathers.

(k) *Plutarch in Romulo.*

(l) *Alexander ab Alexandro lib. 3. cap. 5.*

(m) *Alexand. ibid.*

Rustic: But how was murther and parricide among other

other of the Heathens punished?

Iurisp: If you search into the Lawes and Customes of the *Ægyptians*, you shall finde they did vsually *thrust long Needles vnder their nailes and toes*, the tendrest parts of their bodies, and to cut off their flesh before their faces, and to throw it into the fire. If into the Lawes and Customes of the *Æthiopians*, to haue vsed in the Citie of *Elephantina*, to haue enforced the murtherer *to haue tasted of the hearbe called Ophuisa*, which being taken would make his sleepe to produce terrible and fearefull dreames, presenting vnto them visions more terrible than death it selfe. So doe the Lawes of other of the Heathens punish the same.

(n) Alexander *ab* Alexand: *lib.* 3. *cap.* 5. *Diod. Siculus lib.* 1. rerum Antiquarum. *Cap.* 3.

Vide quomodo apud Germanos, Lusitanos, Græcos, Macedones, Thebanos, homicida puniebatur. *Alexand: ab Alexand. lib.* 3. *cap.* 5.

Rustic: Doe the Lawes, I pray you, punish all men alike, that happen vpon any occasion to kill a man?

Iurisp: No verily; they haue a speciall eye and regard to the manner of the fact; for as there are degrees of man-slaughter, so there are degrees of punishments: for if it be not committed *ex destinato*, of malice and set purpose, then according to the Lawes of God, with men there is mercie to be found: by the Lawes of God there were certaine (o) *Asyla*, places of refuge permitted, whereunto the offender might flie and haue absolution; as when a man had gone to the Wood with his neighbour to hew wood, and his hand fetching a stroke with the Axe to cut downe the Tree, the head had slipped from the helue, and wounded his neighbour, so that he dyed thereof; he might haue fled vnto those places, and haue found refuge. Some resemblance vnto those Lawes haue the Lawes of Nations, especially the (p) *Lawes of the Nation wherein we liue*: if any such offender shall betake himselfe to the Kings Court for refuge, the King will protect him as touching his life: yet he shall not escape altogether vnpunished; for as by the Law of God, if a beast had killed a man, *the beast was to be* (q) *stoned*, and no man was to eate of his flesh.

(o) *Deut.* 19. *v.* 5. Loci refugij fuere, *Kedesh* in *Galil.* in monte *Neptali*, *Shekem* in monte *Ephraim*, *Kiriatharba* in monte *Iudath*, *Bezer* in deserto, *Ramoth* in *Gilead*, & *Golam* in *Bashan*. Iosh. 20.

(p) *Stanford lib.* 2. *cap.* 8.

(q) *Exod.* 21. *v.* 28.

The

The Lawes of our Nation haue ſome reſemblance vnto thoſe Lawes; for if it happen at any time *a beaſt to* (r) *kill a man, or a Cart loaden with graine to goe over a man*, ſo that the partie dye by reaſon thereof, the owner ſhall eſcape with his life, yet the Oxe, the Cart, the Corne, and the graine, and all other things that did moove and conduce to the death of the partie, ſhall be confiſcate. Agreeable with thoſe Lawes were the Lawes both in *Athens* and *Rome*; in *Athens* the ſtatue of *Nico* was adjudged to be Confiſcate by the *Areopagites*, and to be caſt into the Sea, becauſe it fell vpon a man ſitting vnder it, and ſlew him: in (t) *Rome likewiſe the day, the moneth, and place, where Cæſar was murthered, ſuffered for his death*; for vpon that day by a generall Conſent of the Senate, they were never to meete againe in Conſultation: the *Ides* of *March* being the time when that bloudy Maſſacre was cõmitted, was named *Parricidium*, & the place they cauſed to be dammed vp, and never after to retaine the name of the Senate-houſe. So did the things which could by no meanes be acceſſarie vnto his death, ſuffer for it. All which was to ſhew how odious a thing murther is, both in the ſight of God and man. So you ſee, though no *Homicide* or murther eſcapes altogether vnpuniſhed, yet the Lawes haue a ſpeciall eye and regard to the manner of the fact.

(r) *Stanford. pl. Cor. lib. 1. cap. 12. Fitzh: tit. Cor. 405. 8. Ed. 2. Fitzh: tit. Cor. 397. 398.*

(t) *Sueton: in Cæſare.*

Ruſtic. Sir, you haue given me good ſatisfaction, touching the Lawes derived out of theſe Lawes. I pray you goe on vnto the third Law of the ſecond Table, and ſhew me what the Lawes are which are thence derived.

Inriſp: I will therein ſatisfie you: and firſt, I will ſhew you what is ſaid to be Adultery in the eye of the Law; then how it is diſtinguiſht from Inceſt and Fornication; then what are the Lawes which puniſh offẽders in thoſe kinds; and laſtly, what the puniſhments are that thoſe Lawes haue provided. You ſhall vnderſtand, that

(t) Adulter & adultera dicuntur, quia ille ad alteram, & hæc ad alterum se confert. *Spieg.*

(u) Conjugium ex duobus facit vnum. Adulterium ex vno facit duos. *Spieg.*

(w) Vana (moriente *Theophr.*) quærimonia de natura putatur, quòd breve sibi, diuturnum cervis & cornicibus vitæ spatium dederit; cùm non vivere sed vita valere benè est; vt fabula, sic vita, non quàm diu, sed quàm benè acta sit refert.

(x) Quæ nobiliora, sunt mobiliora; intuemur corpora cælestia, elementa, quæq; ex ijs cõponuntur, in perpetuo motu, cõq; velociora quò sunt perfectiora consistere. Ecquid sibi voluit *Plato* cum hominẽ plantam, non terræ infixam, & immobilem, sed cælestem & radicibus inversam nuncupavit.

(t) *Adultery is then properly said to be committed, and he or she to be an Adulterer or Adultereſſe,* who having taken the holy state of Matrimony vpon them, instituted by God in Paradise, shall forgetting the promise which they sometimes made in the presence of God, in the face of the Congregation, and confirmed by the Ceremonies of the Church, in a presumptuous boldnes, or bold presumption, dare *to infringe and* (u) *vntie that knot which God had knit together*, by an vnlawfull Concubinage in defiling of his neighbours bed, endevouring as much as in him or her lyes, to induce a spurious generation. Incest is then said to be committed, when they who by reason of consanguinitie and nearenes of bloud are prohibited by the Lawes of God, and the holy Church, to joyne themselues in Matrimony one to another, shall yet notwithstanding, carnally know each other. Fornication is then said to be Committed, when a single man and woman, be she widow or virgin, having not taken the state of Matrimony vpon them, shall carnally know one another. These are the differences of these severall kindes of whoredome.

Rustic: I pray you, what are the Lawes which punish those offences?

Iurisp: They are comprehended vnder those titles, *De adulterijs, de stupris, incestu, de nuptijs & matrimonio, de divortijs, de sponsalibus*, and the like. And may well be said to be as are the precedent Lawes, either Lawes of *Commonition*, or Lawes of *Animadversion*.

Rustic What are the Lawes of *Commonition*?

Iurisp: They are Lawes made against drunkennesse, against pride in Cloths, or excessiue wearing of apparell, and against idle persons, who cannot properly be said to liue like reasonable men, but to subsist and haue *a being in the world like the* (w) *brvit sensitiue Creatures*, the birds of the ayre, and the beasts of the field: Man was not borne to sit still and sleepe, but *like the* (x) *sunne*

in

in the Firmament, to be ever in motion; and like the little *Emmet* in the Summer, to be ever working; and like the Trees and plants in the Spring, to be ever growing.

Rustic: I pray you giue me leaue a little to expostulate with you concerning these Lawes of *Commonition*, as you call them: and first of the last which you haue named; How doth idlenesse conduce to the breach of those Lawes? and how can a man sitting still and doing nothing, be said to be a transgressor of those Lawes?

Iurisp: The wanton Poet in his amorous verses will tell you in *Ægistus*.

Quæritur, Ægistus quare sit factus adulter;
In promptu causa est, desidiosus erat. **Ovid.**

Whilest *Venus* is Courting of a looking glasse, paynting and pruning of her selfe, framing of her Countenance, speech, habit and gesture, to giue contentment, *Cupid* with his two Arrowes, opportunitie and importunitie sets vpon her, and surpriseth her; whilest *Diana* stands by and is impregnable, *Venus entertaines him, and is* (94) *credulous, beleeues whatsoever he saith to be Oracles*, Courts him, kisseth him, sports and playes with him, vntill shee be inchanted with his Charmes; and why, because shee cannot entertaine the time otherwise: shee was never bred to paines-taking, nor knowes what belongs to a Needle, Violl, Virginall, or Lute, shee can Court a looking glasse, dresse her selfe of the fashion, and knit a true loues knot, & this is all that she can doe, and is glad of any Company that suits & sympathizeth with her Condition: but as for *Diana*, it is not so with her, she entertaines him too, but it is to make sport with him, she knowes him to be a Verbalist, and so values him, esteeming his words as winde, and his charmes as the charmes of Syrens, heares him onely, because she can-

(94) Fœminæ oculatæ esse debent, & nunquam sine suspitione degere, nec facilè cuiquam credere, quantumvis arridenti, vel complexanti, vel (vt ait *Erasmus*) dejeranti. Vnde Poëta;

Fide parùm multúmq; vide nam fidere multum,
Et vidisse parùm maxima damna parit
——lepidè *Scaliger*;
Clarissima sententia, confidere paucis:
Sed clarior est altera, confidere nulli.

cannot avoyde him, yet keepes him at a diſtance, and will haue no manner of dalliance with him, but in his greateſt importunitie, puts him off with ſome merry conceit or other, ſo keepes him to recreate her ſelfe withall, and to make ſport, yet keeps her ſelfe free from him, and why? becauſe *Diana* is ever in imployment, ſhe can doe any thing that is fit for a Lady or Gentlewoman to doe: ſhee can write and reade, ſing and play vpon the Lute, Violl, and Virginall: *Her* (y) *daily exerciſe in the morning, is to offer vp ſome prayſes and prayers to her Creator,* that being done, for that is ever her firſt worke. Sometimes ſhe takes into her hands the ſacred Hiſtory, and by daily reading and ruminating thereon, becomes ſo good a Textuary, that without troubling of her eyes, ſhe will poſt over any Epiſtle of the Apoſtles as readily as her Alphabet, nay, more punctually poynt out in an inſtant with an intellectuall inſtrument, the ſtrength of her memory onely, any verſe that can be named in any of thoſe Epiſtles, and ſo prettily when ſhe was but a twig of eight or nine yeares growth, that I ingenuouſly acknowledge, I haue often caſt away my money to heare and ſee delights, which haue not given me halfe ſo much contentment. Sometimes ſhe betakes her ſelfe vnto the Courtly *Caſtilio*, well knowne to moſt of the Chriſtian Princes of the world, ſpeaking vnto them in their owne naturall language, in *Engliſh*, *Latin*, *Italian*, & *French* (for ſo it is indeed tranſlated out of *Italian* into all thoſe languages) and in her mother-tongue; informes her ſelfe how to chooſe a waiting Gentlewoman, and *how a* (z) *Courtier ſhould be accommodated*; how he ſhould ſpeake, and how he ſhould write; and to what end he ſhould frame and faſhion all his actions; how his ſtudy ſhould be Arts and Armes; how in his (*) ſpeech he ſhould apply himſelfe to the capacitie of thoſe with whom he converſeth; how his (*) writing ſhould be without any affectation of vnuſuall words and

(y) Mos erat illius, ſolis ſub lumina primâ,
Aſſiduas cælo ſacrificare preces.
Nec priùs in dulcem declinent lumina ſomnum,
Omnia quàm longi reputaverit acta diei.

(z) Qui vivit in Curia debet cum triſtibus ſeverè, cùm remiſſis jucundè, cum ſenibus graviter, cum juvenibus comiter vivere; quòd ni ſi fecerit, nec magnus in Curia, nec diuturnus eſſe poterit. Ideóq; opus eſt Aulico omnem in modum ſe conformare; moribus eorum quibuſcũ vivit; & *Alcibiadẽ* imitari qui *Athenis Atticâ*, morũ ſuavitate vixit, *Lacedæmone* ſolutiùs.
Caſtilio lib. 1. & 3.

Qui ſapit, innumeris moribus aptus erit.

(*) In ſermone, vtrúmq; extremorum fugiendum eſt, ruſtici idiomatis vilitas & librariæ cõcinnitatis affectatio.

Ampullas & ſeſquipedalia verba, *Æſchines* condemned in *Demoſthenes*.

(*) OHAV. *Cæſar Mæcenatem, Tiberium & Marcum Antonium* phanaticos & phreneticos eſſe putavit, quia ſcripſerunt, vt admirentur potiùs quàm intelligerent lectores.
Sueton. in OHAV. *Cæſare.*

and phraſes; and how all his actions ſhould tend to this one end, to encourage his Soveraigne *to liſten to the* (a) *aduiſe of his graue and learned Senators*, and to ſtop his eares at the whiſperings of vndermining ſycophants and flatterers. Sometimes againe ſhe betakes her ſelfe to her Lute, Violl, or Virginall, and with her little fingers ſo ſweetly deſcants vpon them, that ſhe is *able to make the* (b) *trees and ſtones with Orpheus to daunce after her*, and with * *Tythræus*, to reviue the moſt dull and drowſieſt ſpirits. Sometimes ſhe betakes her ſelfe vnto her Needle, and with that little inſtrument, attended with a ſilke or ſilver trayne, drawes out the picture of an Acorne or bloſſome, as liuely as *Apelles* could doe with his penſill. Sometimes againe ſhe goeth into the Dairy, and converſeth with the dairy-maide, and in a familiar manner of diſcourſe (ſo curteous ſhe is and loving to the meaneſt) learnes of her the myſtery of her Art. Sometimes againe into the Paſtry, where ſhe takes much delight, and there either in raiſing of a Marchpane like vnto a Pyramides, or in ý pourtrayting out a Pheaſant, Cocke, or Partridge, ſhe doth a while recreate her ſelfe: Sometimes ſhe walkes into the open ayre, to ſee that no wrong be done to the ſeedes of her huſwifery, her Hempe and Flaxe which is growing without; from thence to her Bees, where ſhe ſtayes a while, beholding profit come flying home vnto her, the little Bee bringing honey to the hive. Sometimes againe ſhe walkes into the meades and paſtures, to ſee her horned creatures, that doe as duly as the day comes offer vp the materials, wherewith the husbandman and plowman is ſo much delighted, of Butter and Cheeſe, of Cruds and creame; and if *Cupid* as ſhe walkes doe come into her way, ſhe will ſpend ſome time with him too, and in exchange of a wittie riddle or two put him to a non-plus: but after the expence of an houre or two, ſhe hath enough of him; ſo that (c) *Cupid or his aſſociates haue no opportunitie to ſolicite*

(a) Quotidiè eſt præmuniendus animus Principis adverſus adulatorum contagium, qui nuiquâ magis quàm in aulis Principum et Potentum familijs regnant; vnde Grammaticis adulatio quaſi adaulatio dicitur; quòd alluſiſſe videtur *Ouidium* canentem.

Agmen adulantum media procedit ab aula.

——*Hieron.* de educand: Prin: liber.

(b) Hunc referunt duros lapides & flumina cantu, Detinuiſſe, ſuæ captos dulcedine vocis.

* *It is ſaid of* Tythræus, *that in a battaile againſt the* Meſſeni, *perceiving his Country-men of* Lacedemony *to quaile in their fight; by changing of the ſound of his inſtrument into another tune, he did ſo revive their ſpirits, that they overcame their enemies.*

O what is it that Muſicke cannot doe!

——*It makes the fierceſt men at Armes*
Let fall at once their anger and their Armes:
It cheeres ſad ſoules, & charmes
the frantick fits
Of lunaticke, that are bereft their wits.
It kils the flame that curbes the fond deſire,
Or him that burnes in beauties blazing fire.

Bartas.

(c) Verum eſt, artem intentione, animum remiſſione frangi; ideóq; apud *Lucianum* excuſat ſe matri Cupido non poſſe ſe Minervam, Muſas, vel Dianam vulnerare; quia ſemper occupatæ, nunquam otientur.

licite her Chastitie: if the (95) *Client would liue according to the Law*, the Courts of Iustice would haue little to doe: if the *Patient* would liue according to the Lawes of nature, the Colledge of Physitians would grow into decay: if *Venus* would liue like *Diana*, *Cupid* might put vp his Arrowes into his quiver, and seeke him a new trade and occupation; for so the Poet hath long agoe discovered.

(95) Vivere naturæ si convenienter, amarent
Mortales, *medicâ* nil opus esset *ope*.
Si saperent homines, rixis, avidisq; carerent
Litibus, & queruli garrulitate fori.
Sic incompositus post scrinia *Bartolus* iret.
Et mus illectum roderet *Hippocratem*.

Otia si tollas periere Cupidinis arcus,
Contemptæq; jacent, & sine luce faces. Ovid.

From thee and thine drive sloath away,
And Cupids shafts will soone decay.

Among the (*) *Gymnosophists*, there was a Custome, that alwayes before dinner the younger people were to be examined how they had spent their time from the rising of the Sunne, and if they could giue no good account of it, they were not to be admitted to the Table: Among the *Lacedemonians*, the Custome was, that every tenth day the *Ephæbi* were to be brought before the *Ephori*, the young men before the Governours, and if that during those ten dayes, they had not improoved themselues in the knowledge of some laudable thing, they were severely beaten and chastised. Among the *Atheniãs* when they came to mans estate, they were more severely dealt withall, and were put to death as theeues; for they held idle drones to stand for ciphers, meere nothings, carkasses & dead men, *which if they were not* (d) *removed would stinke and putrifie*, and like a Contagion infect their neighbours; which made the Poet in his *Georgicks* affirme, that there is no better way to keepe the prettie sweet Common-wealth in prosperitie, than to roote out those *degeneres apum reges*, buzzing drones that make such a noyse and clamor, yet doe no manner of

(*) *Lonicerus*.
Eadem lex inter Apostolos; nam per Apostolicas ordinationes decretũ erat, quòd otiosus non debet comedere ex bonis fidelium; & Apostolus inquit; si quis apud vos non laborat non manducabit; odit enim Dominus noster otiosos.
2 *Thes.* 3. 10.

(d) Morbida facta pecus totum corrumpit ovile
Ne maculet reliquas, est removenda grege.
Well, better is rotten Apple out of hoord,
Than that it should rot all the remnant.
Chawcer.

of good vnto it, and which gaue occasion to some of the wisest men of the world in their generations to affirme, that there are two sorts of people who dealt in extreames, which are burdensome to all Common-wealths, the busie negotiator and vndertaker, and the idle drone and sluggard, the one composed of the two light Elements, fire and ayre, the other of the two more grosse, earth & water; the one so busie that he will haue an Oare in every mans boate, and a hand in every mans busines, and so that he may be doing and going, cares not almost what he doth, nor whether he goeth; being one that consults little, but trots and travels much, and his legs for the most part out-run his wits: the other so lazie, who though he hath neither food for his belly, nor cloth's for his backe, will rather steale and starue, than take paines to get a living. The first of these, that is, the (e) *giddie negotiator, Tacitus* thus reproues, there haue beene, saith he, divers hopefull men, like to haue come to great preferment in the Common-wealth, who despising that which with little patience might haue beene had with securitie, haue hastened to that, which being gotten before due time, hath bred their ruine and destruction. And (*) Saint *Martin* thus in a Coach-man, a Coach-man travailing to *Lutetia*, now called *Paris*, the prime Citie of *Fraunce*, in a full Carriere meeting with him, expostulates with him, whether he might reach ỹ night to *Lutetia* or no, to whom Saint *Martin* answered, *Si festines excluderis, sin lento passu incedas, vrbem hoc vesperi ingredieris*, if thou ridest not so fast thou maist; which the Coach-man taking to heart, thinking the holy man had derided him, drives on as fast as his horses could well goe; but being not gone out of sight, one of the wheeles of his Coach broke, so that he was enforced to take vp his lodging there that night; the Coach-man then remembred what the holy man had presaged, and that if he had gone more easily,

(e) Vide fabulam de sue & Cane; qua ostenditur, non celeritate laudem, sed perfectione obtineri. Certamen erat inter canem & suem de pariendi facultate; Canis dicebat nullum animal hoc nomine secum gloriari posse; at Sus; memento te tuos catulos cæcos parere. Vnde Proverbium;

Canis festinans cæcos parit catulos.

(*) *Lonicerus.*

easily, he had come sooner to his journeys end: the other, that is, the idle drone and sluggard is thus reproved by *Cæsar* in *Florus*.

Ego nolo Florus esse,
Ambulare per tabernas,
Latitare per popinas.

(f) Suetor. in Cæsare.

And thus by the (f) Citizens of *Rome* in *Bibulus*, *Cæsar* and *Bibulus* being Consulls together, when any thing happened worthy of note during the time of their Consulship, the Citizens pleasantly in derision of *Bibulus* would say, that it was done when *Iulius* and *Cæsar* were Consuls, making mention of his two names, as if they had beene severall men, and never remembring of *Bibulus*, but as a Cipher or dead letter.

Non Bibulo quicquam nuper, sed Cæsare factum,
Nam Bibulo fieri Consule nil memini.

Cæsar of late did many things, but Bibulus not one,
For nought by Consul Bibulus doe I remember done.

(g) Emori per virtutem præstat, quàm per dedecus vivere. Salust. & Æmilius Probus in Gabria.

Cæsar will rather (g) *dye on the Mountaines, where honour is to be found, than line with Florus or Bibulus in Tavernes and Taphouses.* *Cæsar* in dying gaines immortalitie, but the other in living perpetuall shame and ignominie: the industrious man liues when he is dead, but the idle man is dead whilest he liues. *Nam qui nihil agit, esse omninò non videtur*, saith the Orator. Of both these sorts, that is, both of the industrious and sluggish people, the Lawes derived out of this sacred Law take speciall notice; and therefore as they doe giue due respect to such as liue according to their professions, by the sweat of their browes; *So doe they* (h) *brand idle persons with the Stigmaticall markes of shame & ignominie*, as incorrigible vagrants and vnworthy members in a Common-wealth.

(h) See the Statutes of 5. Elizab: cap. 5. Rast. tit. Labourers and servants. See the Statute of 1. & 2. Philip & Mary, Rast. tit. Ægypt.

Rustic:

Rustic: But how can drunkenneſſe be ſaid to conduce to the breach of theſe Lawes?

Iuriſp: Very well; and not vnto theſe alone, but vnto all other Lawes derived out of the ſacred Lawes of both Tables, as will be made to appeare vnto you. And firſt that it doth conduce vnto adultery, fornication, and inceſt, I would haue you informe your ſelfe out of *the Tragedie of Oedipus in Seneca,* where you may behold the fruits and effects of this naſtie vice, ſet forth to the life: *Laius* having drunke too deepe of the fruit of the grape, forgat what he heard from the Oracle, lay with his wife and begat *Oedipus*; this ſwolne-foote monſter, afterwards requited him with death, *lay with his*(96) *naturall mother*, and of her begat two twinnes which killed each other, which the poore diſtreſſed mother beholding, in very anguiſh of ſoule killed her ſelfe: yet the Tragedie ended not there, for at the funerall of the two Twinnes *Eteocles* and *Polynices,* which was performed by fire, the aſhes of them divided it ſelfe, the aſhes of the one flying one way, and the aſhes of the other flying another way; ſo that as they lived all their life time in diſſention, ſo they dyed, and as they dyed, ſo the fruit thereof ſhewed it ſelfe in the manner of their funeralls, and in their poſteritie; for as long as there was any of their poſteritie remaining vpon the face of the earth, they could never be reconciled. This Tragedie moraliſed, will ſhew vnto you that from this roote of drunkenneſſe proceede thoſe ſtemmes and branches (i) *neglect of the precepts and Commandements of God, murthers, inceſts, perpetuall hatred, diviſion and diſſention.* Againe, you muſt vnderſtand, that (*) *Bacchus* and *Venus* are inſeparable Companions, and ſeldome goe aſunder, ſo that he that is familiar with the one, cannot be a ſtranger to the other. It is a hard thing *for a man to carrie*(97) *fire in his boſome, and not be burnt,* to liue in *Sodome* and not to partake of the ſinnes of *Sodome. Decepit Lot*

(96) — Ænigma.
Auigener, patriſq; rivalis ſui,
Frater ſuorum liberûm, & fratrum parens,
Vno avia partu, liberos peperit viro, ac ſibi nepotes.
The ſonne in-law to Grand-father, the rival of his ſyre;
The brother of his little babes, to brethren father dire:
The Grand-mother at every birth to husband (graceles elſe)
Brought forth a ſon or daughter which was nephew to her ſelfe.
Seneca in Thebaide.
O fowle defect, O ſhame, O dangerous maineſſe,
That makes the vaunter inſolent, the cruell violent,
The fornicator wax adulterous,
The Adulterer become inceſtuous!

Bartas.

(i) Inter decreta *Eutichiani* dicitur, quòd ebrietas eſt malum, vnde omnia mala pullulant; idcò decretum eſt; qui hoc vitare noluerit, excommunicatus erit vſq; ad congruam emendationem.

(*) Vinum vt teſtatur *Hieronymus*, voluptatis incendiũ eſt, et venter nimio æſtuans citò deſpumat in libidinem; & vbi ebrietas, ibi libido dominatur.

(97) Non facile eſt, Tantũ vilâ retinere juvencâ.
Ovid.

(98) Ebrietas eſt blandus dæmon, dulce venenum, illecebra voluptatis, & pudoris injuria, quam nullus noverit Chriſtianus.
Bernard.

(k) Poſtremum & perfectiſſimum *opus dei* eſt homo, & reliquarum rerum dominus.
Zanchius.

(l) Vidi (inquit *Petrarcha*) juvenem podagricum, eundem ſenem revidi; quæſivi cauſam; nullam mihi aliam reddidit, quàm quod ſe vino penitùs addicâſſet.
Petr: lib 3. famil. Epiſt.

(m) Hinc ſubitæ mortes, atq; inteſtata ſenectus.
Iuv: Sat. 1.

(n) Ebrietatem tanquam libidinis fomentum fugite.
5. Epheſ.

* *Eraſmus lib. 8. Apophthegm.*

ebrietas, quem Sodoma non decepit, this (98) ſugred poyſon deceived him whom all the daintie Dames of *Sodome* could not deceiue. Wherefore the holy Apoſtle taking ſpeciall notice of the fowleneſſe of this loathſome vice, how it drownes the ſoule in perdition, makes *man the* (k) *glory of the Creatures, to be a meere Chaos.* How it diſtempers the whole bodie, diſſolues the naturall heate of the liver, & cauſeth it in ſtead of bloud to ſend forth water; how it annoyes the braine, and in hot fiery Conſtitutions cauſeth phrenſie and madnes, in cold & moiſt Conſtitutions, *Epilepſies & Apoplexies, Cramps,* (l) *Gowts, and Dropſies, and oftentimes* (m) *ſuddaine death, by clogging and ſtopping of the vitall paſſages.* How it infatuates the ſences, confounds the memorie, intoxicates the phantaſie, & very oftentimes occaſioneth murthers, inceſts, adulteries, and all manner of vncleanneſſe, giues this ſpeciall Caveat, to *beware of the* (n) *hooke, leaſt we be taken with the baite:* * *Eraſmus* in his Apophthegmes liuely ſetteth forth the proper wages & reward of this in a yong ruffling Gallant, who having waſted his patrimonie by drinking and whoring, and having run into debt further than his ſtate would ſatisfie, became an humble ſuitor to *Alphonſus* King of *Arragon*, that he would be pleaſed to grant him a protection againſt his Creditors, that perſecuted him like a Ghoſt whereſoever he went; to whom *Alphonſus* anſwered, that he would adviſe of it, and if he found vpon enquirie, that he had ſpent his eſtate, either in his ſervice, or for the benefit of his Country, or in relieving of the fatherles and widowes, then he would not onely protect him, but relieve and ſuccour him; but if he found that he had ſpent it vpon himſelfe, and was able to giue no better an account of it, than the waſtfull Steward did, who being called vpon to bring in his bookes of Account, (*) *Os primò, deinde podicem oſtendit*, firſt ſhewed his mouth, then his poſteriors; the one being his booke of receipts, the other

(*) *In his owne breſt he thought it beſt,*
His money to incloſe;
Then wiſht he well what ever fell,
He could it never loſe.
Sir Tho: More merrily.

ther of disbursements, then *æquum est vt luat corpore, qui tantas opes impendebat corpori*, it is good justice, that the body which enjoyed the pleasure, should endure the paine. The Heathen Moralists having taken speciall notice of the inconveniences that arise by reason of this vice, haue presented vnto vs divers lively patternes and pictures of such who haue perished by it, to the end, that *by their*(o) *harmes, we may be warned and admonished.* When *Plato* saw a young man that had spent a great fortune (by Wine and Women) at the dore of *Pandochius* begging his bread, and supping vp cold water, passed by him, shaking his head, and *relieved him onely in* (p) *deriding him, saying, if he had dyned so when time was, he needed not now to haue supped so.* When he saw another time *the Agrigentines building continually, yet* (99) *drinking and whoring continually*, he blest himselfe, casting vp his eyes and hands, wondring wherefore they did build as if they should live for ever, yet drinke & whore as if they could not liue vntill the morrow. When the *Embassadors of the *Athenians*, *Philocrates*, and *Æschines*, returned home from the Court of *Philip* of *Macedonie*: *Demosthenes* was desirous to know what newes was in the Court of *Philip*: to whom as a thing of note they related that *Philip* drunke much, yet was never distempered; to whom *Demosthenes* replyed; *Habet hanc virtutem cum mulo communem*, his mule would doe as much. *Aurelianus* the Emperour being told that *Bonosus* was surprised by *Probus*, and had strangled himselfe, said, that he never expected to heare better of him, that *such a*(1) *life as he led, could not produce a better end*; he was borne not to liue, but to drinke, and a Caske or vessell is never in his proper place, except he be placed aloft. *Leontychydas* being asked wherefore *the* (q) *Spartans did drinke so little*, answered, because they did consult much, and being asked a second time, answered, because they did adore Chastitie much; intimating, that Wine was an e-

(o) Pulchrum est ex aliorum erratis in melius instituere vitam nostram; & non quod alij egerint quærere, sed quid optimè actũ sit nobis proponere ad imitandũ.

Fælix, quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

(p) Vide Apologum de Cicada & *formicis*. *Cicada* petebat cibum à formicis; cui formicæ, quid non colligebas in æstate? Cui Cicada; non eram otiosa, nam canebam musicè; cui formicæ; si æstate modulaberis, hyeme salta.

(99) *Drunkennesse and lust seldome goe asunder, and therefore* Armorists *haue provided the same Diminution for the Coate of the drunkard, as they haue for the fornicator, a gusset on the right side of the Coate for the fornicator, and on the left side for the drunkard.*

* Lonicerus.

(1) Κακοῦ κέρακος κακὸν ᾠόν.

Vt moriare pius, vivere disce piè.

(q) Atq; etiam *Sparta* mos est laudabilis iste,
Vt bibat arbitrio pocula quisq; suo.

cnemy to both. *Diogenes* being tendred a cup of Wine, accepted the Cup, but threw downe the Wine, and being demaunded the reaſon, anſwered, that he had rather ſpill it, than it ſhould ſpoyle him; but I commend not this in the Cynicke. *Pythagoras* tells vs, that in the Vine there are three grapes, a ſweet grape, a ſower grape, and a rotten putrified grape; in the ſweet grape there is pleaſure and delight, mirth and melodie; in the ſower grape, there is ſharpnes and harſhnes, ebrietie and folly; in the rotten grape, gall and wormewood, madnes and fury. (r) *A little Wine revives and* (2) *exhilarates the ſpirits; more than a little dulls and oppreſſeth the ſpirits*; to drinke drunke kindles and enflames the ſpirits. The Sophiſter was vſed to ſay, that honey was to be touched with the end of the finger, not to be taken vp with a full hand; pleaſures and delights may be touched and taſted of, not carowſed and drunke vp in full bowles. Among the Heathens, their merry boyes, as they called them (that went ſinging oftentimes like the Swanne to their graues, and dyed like a bird vpon a bough) did in their *ſympoſijs* and merry meetings, vſually drinke their Miſtris-health, as often as ſhe had letters in her name; if (t) *Nævia* ſix Cups, if *Iuſtina* ſeaven, if *Lydas* fiue, if *Lyde* foure, if *Ida* three; and as many more as they had a minde to. But finding that many Cups did oftentimes ſo daſle their eyes, that with the (u) *woers* in *Homer*, they could not know the Miſtris from her maide, they made a Law *inter leges Convivales*, that no man ſhould drinke aboue three or thrice three Cups, which were nine, at any of thoſe meetings.

Ter bibe, vel toties ternos, hæc myſtica lex eſt. Auſon.

All which (x) *Apuleius vtterly condemnes in his Floridoram*, vnles the firſt three; where he ſhewes how every Cup vnto the ninth, workes in the body of man; by the firſt,

(r) Vinum modicè ſumptum intellectui videtur iuuare acumen. Vnde Poëtæ;
Vina parant animos, faciúntq; coloribus aptos.
Ouid.
Fœcundi calices quem non fecere diſertum?
Nulla placere diu, nec viuere Carmina poſſunt,
Quæ ſcribuntur aquæ potoribus. *Horat.*

(2) ——*The Commodities of the Vine.*
Her ſacred liquor temperately taen,
Reuiues the ſpirits, and purifies the braine;
Cheares the ſad heart, increaſeth naturall heate,
Purgeth groſſe bloud, and doth the pure beget;
Strengthens the ſtomacke, and the colour mends,
Sharpens the wit, and doth the bladder clenſe;
Opens obſtructions, excrements expells,
And eaſeth vs of many dangerous ills. Bartas.

(t) *Nævia* ſex Cyathis, ſeptem *Iuſtina* bibatur;
Quinq; *Lydas*, *Lyde* quatuor, *Ida* tribus. *Martial.*

(t) Proci illi apud *Homerum* non immeritò ridentur, qui relictâ *Penelope*, conuertere ſe ad puellas.

(u) Eſt Apulei liber qui inſcribitur Floridorum; vbi quod primus crater agit, quid ſecundus, ac deinceps facetâ narratione diſſeritur. Primus crater pertinet ad ſitim, ſecundus ad lætitiam, tertius ad voluptatem, quartus ad ebrietatem, quintus ad iram, ſextus ad litigium, ſeptimus ad furorem, octauus ad ſomnum, nonus ad morbum.

firſt, ſaith he, our thirſt is aſſwaged; by the ſecond naturall heate is ſtirred vp, and we are made inclinable to mirth; by the third we are made fully merry; by the fourth drunke; by the fifth angry; by the ſixt quarrellſome; by the ſeaventh mad; by the eighth ſleepie; by the ninth ſicke: So I ſay, all but the firſt three he vtterly (*) condemnes. *Sympoſia celebrare, & cum amicis interdum jocundari, non eſt contra ſapientis viri profeſſionem,* friendly meetings and houres to be ſet apart for recreations, were allowed both by the Lawes of the *Lacedemonians* & the *Athenians*, becauſe it recreates the mind, ſtirres vp naturall heate in the body, ſharpens the wit, and begets a great deale of loue and friendſhip amongſt men; but to drinke *vſq; ad Crapulam*, vntill we be as lothſome as a Sowe, as wanton as an Ape, as mad as a Dog, that, that hath beene diſallowed both by the Lawes of the one and the other; and chiefly becauſe it delivers vp the Chaſtitie of the husband belonging to the wife, and of the wife belonging to the husband, into the hands of ſtrangers: A *Germane* taking notice how this vice of drunkennes was crept into his Country, thus bewayles the ſtate of it: *Nulla major peſtis vnquam repſit in noſtram Germaniam; facile erat tolerare Tyrannos, cædes, latrocinia; iſtis occurrere & remedia cum tempore invenire poſſumus; Hanc curare luem nulla medela poteſt; hunc hoſtem in noſtris finibus adeò ſuperbè graſſantem vincere, aut prohibere nullo modo poſſumus; quomodo converſa eſt in luxum frugalitas noſtra? quomodo degeneramus à patribus noſtris?* (3) *majores noſtri cum ſanguine & ſudore ſuo peperernnt nobis terrarum imperium; quomodo nos decipi permittimus? quomodo Aquilæ ad gruem redierunt?* Never greater plague came into our Countrey, than the plague of drunkenneſſe; it is an eaſie thing to endure Tyrants, ſlaughters, and Thefts, and in time we can finde out a remedy for them; but this Contagion, no phyſicke can cure: how is our frugalitie turned into luxurie? and how doe we degene-

(*) Non inutile conſilium Poëtæ;

Qui cupit expertem morbis producere vitam;
Accumbens menſæ pocula trina bibat.
Scilicet, vt primum ſitienti ſerviat ori;
Et ſic dulce merum debile corpus alat:
Deinde voluptati, vini concedetur vſus,
Vt poterint curas corda ſubire graves.
Tunc conviva bibat poſtremum largiùs hauſtum;
Occupet vt citiùs lumina grata quies.
His tribus epotis, ſano quæ corpore gaudet,
De menſa ſurgit, lætus abitq; domum.
Qui verò fines præſcriptos tranſilit, iſte
Noxia pro *Bacchi* rore venena bibit.

(3) Magnus erat quondam ſplēdor, decus, atq; venuſtas,
Germanis, & Cæſaries prolixáq; barba;
Sed levitas nunc eſt tanta & dementia tanta,
Vt capita & barbas ipſi inter pocula radant:
Scilicet hic fructus, pudor & ſapientia *Bacchi*.
Luciemberg. de ſuis Germanis.

rate from our fore-fathers, they with ſweat and bloud made vs to be Lords of the earth? and how are our ſpirits effeminated, to ſuffer that which they ſo dearely bought to be taken from vs? It is a *Germane* recreation, and I would to God they would take it home againe to them, that *we had no cauſe to* (w) *complaine with the Poet*; for how many haue we knowne in this flouriſhing Iland, by reaſon of this to haue beene ſent vnto their graues in the ſpring and flouriſhing time of their age by vntimely deaths? how many haue we knowne by reaſon of this to haue *out-lived their fortunes, their good* (x) *names and reputations?* how many inceſts, adulteries, fornications and murthers, haue we knowne by reaſon of this to haue beene Committed? how many haue we knowne, who whileſt they haue beene themſelues, to haue beene fit Companions for the beſt men of qualitie in a Country, when they are buryed in Wine, not fit to remaine in a civill Societie, ſo offenſiue every way, ſo readie to take hold and except againſt every word that falls, ſo readie to ſtrike and quarrell vpon every occaſion? how many haue we knowne, who whileſt they haue beene themſelues, to haue beene ſo tender of their reputations, as not to looke vpon a woman diſhoneſtly, when they are buryed in Wine, not to be abaſhed to adventure vpon a Common-Whore in the Market-place? how many hopefull plants haue we knowne by reaſon of this to haue beene *ſo* (y) *metamorphoſed*, that he that had knowne them when they were young, after ſome little diſcontinuance of acquaintance, would haue beene a meere ſtranger vnto them, ſo puft were they in their faces, ſo ſwolne in their bodie, ſo gowtie in their legges, ſo deformed in every part and member of their bodies?

(w) Bruta bibunt quantum natura requirit, et vltra
Quàm ſitis ipſa ferat, flumina nulla bibunt:
Solus homo immodico nũquam contentus Iaccho,
Æternùm ſtygijs exatiatur aquis.

Alias.

Taurus habet certas potandi tempore leges:
Sic equus, & liquidus quam vehit aër avis,
Sed nos divinâ qui cum ratione vigemus,
Cur *Venus* et *Bacchus* nocte diéq; tenent?

Alias.

Ventre domum ſaturo redeunt animalia quæq;
Manè petunt hilares paſcua læta greges.
Solus homo potu immodico cerebrúmq; capútq;
Obruit, atq; cibo viſcera tenſa gravat.

(x) Quis non videt quotidiana inter ebrioſos homicidia, parricidia, ſacrilegia, ſtupra, adulteria, inceſtus, raptus, jurgia, perjuria denique in deum & reliquos Cæbres, blaſphæmias, ſuperſtitiones, hæreſes, contemptus ſuperiorum, rebelliones, injurias & contumacias animi præterea deſperationem, ignaviam, ignorantiam, ſtuporem, & id genus alia? unde rectè dicitur, omnium, non multorum vitiorum fomitem eſſe ebrietatem.

Cui væ? cui rixæ? cui ſine cauſa vulnera? nonne his qui commorantur in vino? *Prov.* 23. Quanta dementia eſt libidinis regnum, virtutis exilium, vulgi fabulam & riſum, bonorum odium & contemptum, luctum & inane gaudium, contentiones, jurgia, & incautos cõgreſſus, vino promovere? Hæc omnia ſunt ebrietatis effectus. *Petr.* (y) Videmus multos ætate florentes, formoſos, et amabiliſſimi coloris exiſtentes; mox vbi continentiæ fines egreſſi, & ebrietatis conſuetudinem induti, defluere, emarceſcere, florem illum ætatis, et animi vigorem amittere.

bodies? It hath beene a queſtion in the Schooles, as thoſe that are Academicks know, whether *Socrates* (though ſober and temperate) were *idem numero* in age as he was in youth: but if this queſtion had growne of any of the ſonnes of *Bacchus*, it would haue beene determined, as it was of *the* (*) *Ship* that was ſo often patcht and peeced, that none of the firſt materialls thereof remained; *ſo doth it* (4) *transforme a man, both in the inward faculties of the ſoule, and the outward lineaments of the bodie.* It was a wittie and pithie anſwere of *Anacharſis*, who being demaunded whether there were women, intending diſhoneſt women in *Scythia*, anſwered, *ne*(*)*vitis quidem*, no Wine truely; thereby ſhewing that if there be no fuel there could be no fire, or if there be both fuel and fire, yet if there be no bellowes, it will not eaſily be kindled. Thus elegantly haue the Auncients ſet forth the deformitie of this naſtie vice.

(*) Theſeus *his Ship was a hundred times mended.*

(4) Quid turpius ebrioſo, cui fætor in ore, tremor in corpore, qui promit ſtulta, prodit occulta, cui mens alienatur, facies tranſformatur?

(*) Sinè *Cerere et Libero* friget Venus
Terent. in *Eunuch.*

Ruſtic: Sir, you haue ſhot your ſharpeſt Arrowes at this abuſe, but you might as well haue kept them in your Quiver, if you doe not ſhew vs how we may reforme and redreſſe it; for to diſcover abuſes, and not to ſhew how to redreſſe them, is to lay open a wound, and not to apply a remedie to it.

Iuriſp: The (5) *remedie* is alreadie preſcribed, and if it were not, yet my intent is *not to take vpon me the office of a Senator to reforme abuſes*; that I leaue to men of riper judgemẽt, but to ſhew you the deformity of the abuſe, that ſo you may avoyde both it and the Lawes: for beleeue me Sir, I am of opinion in this caſe, as *Tiberius* was in the like caſe, *that* (z) *multitude of Lawes doe little availe*, and that in ſome Caſes and at ſome times the Lawes may well be ſuffered to take their reſt. The *Ædiles* vpon a time complained, that the Lawes concerning the exceſſe of expences was nought ſet by, and the ſumptuouſneſſe of mooveables, which was forbidden, daily encreaſed, and deſired the Lords of the Senate to aſſiſt

(5) Melius quidem vel ſalubrius remedium (vt inquit Sereniſſimus nuper rex) ad curandam pernicioſam ebrietatis contagionem non poteſt excogitari, quàm popinas ebrioſorum receptacula, tanquam fomitem exturpare: leones vrſoſq; non reperias niſi vbi caveras habent; et purgaretur reſpubl: h popinæ eorum latibula extirparentur.

(z) — Sint paucæ leges; Et valeant potiùs pondere quàm numero.
Vt ſolet in dubijs inter convivia cænis
Multa gravant ſtomachum tercula, pauca juvant.
Sic hebetat mentes legum confuſio, quæ ſi
Sint paucæ et faciles, nauſea nulla foret.

assist them in the reformation thereof; the Lords not willing to meddle with the matter, referred the Consideration thereof to *Tiberius* himselfe; *Tiberius* wisely considering how vnseemely and (a) *dishonorable it would be to vndertake that which could not be effected*, or if it could, yet with the ignominie and infamie of many noble men: he sent his Letters to the Senate to this purpose; it would be convenient my Lords peradventure, that in other matters I should be demaunded my opinion in your presence, & speake what I thought behooue-full for the Common-wealth; but in this I thought it were better to withdraw mine eyes, because it is not in my power easily to redresse it. If the *Ædiles* had before asked my advice, I know not whether I should rather haue perswaded them to let passe strong and rooted vices, than goe so farre that it should be knowne how vnable we are to redresse some kinde of abuses. If I should goe about any such thing, I know not where to begin. Shall I reduce to the auncient Custome your spacious Country-houses, the number of your servitors, the quantitie of silver and gold, your painted Tables and Pictures of most curious workemanship, the superfluousnes of apparrell both in men and women, your precious stones, for which our money is transported to forraine Nations? I am not ignorant that these things are blamed at publicke meetings, and a meane wished for; but if any man would make it a Law to punish them, those themselues that complaine would exclaime that the ruine of the Nobilitie is sought after, for that there are none free from this crime: Wherefore the best meanes to redresse a generall evill is, that every one would prescribe a Law to himselfe, and amend one: it was the wish of *Tiberius* in his dayes, & I wish it with all my heart in our dayes.

Rustic: Sir, you haue sufficiently shewed how that odious vice of drunkennes doth conduce to the breach of

(a) Fertur dixisse *Tiberius*, satius omittere quod assequi nequiret, quàm tentare turpiter quod posteà non efficeret.

Tacit, lib. 3.

Sapienter dictũ cujuscúnq; illud fuit,
Nec *Veneris* nec tu vini capiatis amore,
Vno námq; modo Vina, *Venúsq;* nocent.

of thoſe Lawes, I pray you in the next place, ſhew how Cloths and Apparrell doth any way conduce vnto it.

Iuriſp: You muſt know, that *decent apparell is* (b) *commended and commaunded by the Lawes of God and men*; it is inordinate apparell which is prohibited; when as we weare our Cloths not to cover our nakednes, but to diſcover it, by daſling the eyes of ſilly people, with glorious outſides. A miſdemeanor, of which the Prophets, Apoſtles, and reverend Fathers of the Church haue taken ſpeciall notice. Saint *Peter in his* (c) *firſt Epiſtle giues vs a ſpeciall Caveat to abſtaine from intemperate wearing of apparell*; and the holy Fathers of the Church haue in ſome indignation arraigned the proud men of the world, and would needs know of them, why they ſhould ſo expenſiuely laviſh out in diſburſing of ſo much money to ſo little profit, in fading corruptible garments, and why they ſhould be ſo proud of thoſe poore vanities, which being at the beſt are but borrowed out of the guts of the earth, or of the ſilly ſilke-worme, and (d) *begotten by ſinne and tranſgreſſion*, and ſtill are ſubject to the moth and corruption. And why they ſhould *neglect thoſe things which are of* (e) *more worth*, and to be had at eaſier rates, and are out of the reach of time and corruption; the which the more they weare, the more glorioufly they ſhine; and which they may ever carry about them, yet will they be no burthen vnto them. They ingenuouſly confeſſe, they know no reaſon vnleſſe it be by ſuch glorious outſides to *deceiue the world, as did the* (f) *Serpent our firſt parents in the beginning*. And therefore as doe the Lawes of God, ſo haue *the Lawes of* (g) *men ſhot ſharpe Arrowes againſt theſe perſons*, and preſcribed them what garments they ſhall put on.

(b) Veſtes nigellæ & cãdidi mores maximè ornant. *Auguſtin.*

(c) 1 *Pet.* 3. *verſ.* 3. In veſtitu ſuperbia à deo atrociter puniri *Eſayas* Propheta *Iudæis* denuntiat. *Eſay.* 3. *verſ.* 18. Venuſtè hoc dilemmate taxatur mollities muliebris; ſi pulchræ ſint mulieres, ſufficit natura; non contendat ars cõtra naturam; ſi turpes ſunt natura, id quod opponit, deformitatem magis argúit.

(d) Veſtis è peccato originem habet. *Gen.* 3. *verſ.* 7.

(e) Divitias animi ſolas ego judico veras: Quæ ſita ſunt extra noſmet, non ſunt ea noſtra. *Stilpho* captâ patriâ, amiſſis liberis, amiſſâ vxore, dixit, omnia mea mecum ſunt; juſtitia, temperantia, prudentia. *Seneca.* Hæc non diripiant, nec deprædentur *Achivi.*

(f) *Evam* ſerpens decepit murenulæ figurâ.

(g) *See the Stat of 24 years H.* 8. *cap.* 13.

Ruſtic: Sir, I pray you giue me leaue to expoſtulate a little with you concerning thoſe Lawes you now

ſpeake of: for it doth concerne vs all: Is it not lawfull for a man to weare what Cloth's he will?

Iuriſp: No; it is *not* (6) *lawfull for Dukes and Marquiſſes to put themſelues into the habits of Kings and Princes*; nor for Viſcounts and Barons to Cloth themſelues in an attire belonging to Earles; nor for Gentlemen to weare ſuch habits as are ſet apart for Knights of the order, and men of their qualitie and degree; nor for yeomen, husbandmen, and ſerving-men to attire themſelues like vnto Gentlemen; briefly, it is not lawfull for ſuch as are *ſordidati*, to put vpon them the habit of *Candidati*, nor for the *Plebei* to attire themſelues in the habits of the *Patritij*, nor for *ſervi* to goe as doe the *ingenui*: in a word, it is not lawfull for men of low degree to cloth themſelues in the habit of men of high degree; nor honorable for men of high degree to attire themſelues like vnto men of low degree; but neceſſary it is that every man ſhould weare a habit according to his (7) *ranke and degree*.

(6) *The ſtatute of 24. H. 8. is grounded vpon the Lawes of Armes. By the Lawes of Armes a Prince may vſe powderings in his apparrell as thicke as he pleaſeth; a Duke in his mantell foure ranges onely, a Marqueſſe three and a halfe, an Earle three onely.*

Ruſtic: What if a man doe tranſgreſſe in this kinde; what danger doth he incurre?

Iuriſp: Beſides the danger of the Lawes, and the cenſure of the multitude, he doth incurre *the Cenſure of Cæſar*. *Auguſtus Cæſar* vpon a time ſeeing ſome *Romane* Citizens clad in ſhort ſullyed cloaks called vpon them with a lowde voice, (h)

Romanos rerum dominos gentemq; togatam.

As if he ſhoud haue ſaid, yee Citizens which challenge to your ſelues a prerogatiue to be the Lords of the world, and to be the long-robed Nation; how cõmeth it to paſſe, that you are clad in habits more fit for ſuch as liue in the Country, and *follow* (i) *hawkes and dogges*, than for men that governe & giue Lawes vnto the people: I would haue you know, that long Gownes would better

(7) Forma habitus & veſtitus apud veteres ſtrictè obſervata fuit; nec inter homines ſolùm, ſed etiam inter mulieres. *Feſtus* tradit matronas illas appellatas eſſe, quibus ſtolas habendi jus erat. Nam meretricibus inhoneſtiſq; mulieribus ſtolæ vſus prohibitus erat; erat autem ſtola oblonga & ad talos vſq; dimittebatur.
Br ſſonius

(h) *Sueton: in Auguſto Cæſare.*

(i) Conveniunt longæ veſtes qui publica tractant
Munia, conſulto juris populúmq; regentes.
Conveniunt ſuccincta viris venantibus ipſa
Pallia, neu rapiant ſpinæ, aut virgulta morentur
Currentes, rapido reſonent neu flamine venti.

better suite with your professions, than such short Iackanapes Clokes.

Rustic: In my opinion Sir, it is a needlesse thing for a man to stand so much vpon those (k) *outward shewes and apparances*; if a man liue as he should doe, it matters not what Cloth's he doth put on.

Iurisp: O but Sir, there is a decorum and order to be obserued in every degree and condition of life, and these *outward ornaments are the* (l) *bookes in which the vulgar that cannot iudge of thee, reade thy thoughts and intentions.* If thou be a Student of the Lawes, & they behold thee walking in the streets in thy boots and gingling spurres, they presently conclude, there goes *Hotspur* the Lawyer, that thinkes the time never flyes fast enough, vnlesse he puts spurres vnto it. If thou be a Diuine, and serueſt at the Altar, and they behold thee in an irregular habit, and heare thee to make it a case of conscience to put on those comely decent Ornaments, which the Church hath prescribed, they presently conclude, there goes a wilfull peeuish foole, a disturber of the *peace and the tranquillitie of the Church*, who though he hath not wit enough to know white from blacke, meate from mustard (m) *beneficium from obsonium*, yet he will take vpon him to be more wise than all the reuerend Fathers of the Kingdome, and prescribe vnto them what robes & ornaments are fitteſt to be worne in the Synagogues and Congregations. A prettie pert fellow, that never talkes of the Fathers, but with a kinde of sleighting of them, that never receiveth the blessed Sacrament with more outward reuerence than he doth his ordinarie meate and drinke, nor ever feasteth but vpon good Friday, or speciall fasting dayes; that talketh much of truth, yet will lye abominably; and had he but art to his inuention, *Æsop* might well giue him the Buckler, that hath charitie often in his mouth, and will * magnifie his neighbours hospitalitie, & his beneficence to the poore,

(k) Cucullus non facit monachum.
Si promissa facit sapientem barba, quid obstat,
Barbatus possit quin caper esse *Plato*?
Mart.

(l) Vestis virum indicat.
Huc valde pertinet elegans Ausonij Epigramma de duabus sororibus.
Delia, vos miramur, & est mirabile, quòd tam
Dissimiles ejus rúq; sorórq; tua.
Hæc habitu casto, cum non sit casta, videtur;
Tu præter cultum nil meretricis habes.
Cum casti mores tibi sint, huic cultus honestus,
Te tamen & cultus damnat, & actus eam.
Auson: Epigr: 102.

(m) Cùm multi adveniebant ad congratulandũ cuidam, in quem *Alexander* 6tus beneficium impendiò opulentũ contulisset. Addubitat primò simplex quid esset beneficium, et obsonium aliquod esse suspicatus, rogavit, num esset etui.

* Scit laudare magis nemo minúsq; dare.

but as for himselfe, you shall sooner get a tooth out of his head, than a penny out of his purse; that will frequent the Church duely, but if he heare at any time the Organs goe, or the Chaunters Chaunt, then he runnes away as if he had beene scarred with some hag or hobgoblin; of what Nation, Religion, or what his name is, no man knowes, nor he himselfe, some say he came out of *Vtopia*, and is of the Religion there profest, and his name is *Separatist*, others say, he came out of the clouds from *Aristophanes Citie of Cuckoes*, and is of the Religion there profest, and his name is *Brownist*; others say he came out of the Moone from *Lucians inhabited Country*, and is of the Religion there profest, and his name is *Neuteralist*; others say, he came out of *Platoes Commonwealth*, scituated directly vnder the Poles, where the people swarme in Summer as the Bees doe in Winter, and is of the Religion there profest, and his name is *Anabaptist*; every man wisheth him at home againe, for whersoever he commeth, he hatcheth nothing but schismes and dissentions. If thou be a ([8]) Citizen, and they behold thee in an vnusuall habit and attire differing from the fashion of the Citie, they presently conclude, there goes a spend-thrift, one who hath bespoken his lodging in *Ludgate* alreadie. If thou be a Souldier, and they behold thee to fashion thine apparell according to the fashion of thine enemy, they presently conclude, as the Southsayers did of *Darius his* ([n]) *Sword*, that they into whose fashion thou putteſt thy selfe, will be Lords over thee. If thou be returned from the *Indyes*, or out of some forreine Nation, where thou hast had some crosses and losses, and they behold thee in a habit vsed in those Countries, they presently in stead of pittying

([8]) *If the Courtiers of our time would but apply such remedies to the good men of the Citie that are sicke of the fashions, as Sir* Philip Calthorpe *did to* I. Drake *a shoomaker of* Norwich, *they would quickly cure them of their maladies. This Knight having bought as much fine Cloth as would make him a Gowne, and sent it to his Taylor*; I. Drake *seeing the Knights Cloth in the Taylors shop, liking it very well, bought as much of the same, and gaue direction to the Taylor to make it vp in all points like vnto the Knights. The Knight being giuen to vnderstand thereof, remembring the old Proverbe,* Ne sutor vltra crepidam; *commaunded the Taylor to cut his Cloth as full of holes as his sheares could doe, and so to make it vp, which the Taylor did accordingly, and in like manner cut* I. Drakes *& made it vp, and brought it home to him, wh.ch when I. beheld, he fell into a passion and sware by his pantofles, that he had spoyled his Gowne; Marry quoth the Taylor, then blame your selfe for it, for I haue made it according to the Knights in all points as you commaunded; Marry (quoth* Io:) *if euer I become of the Knights cut againe, I will giue you leaue to cut as many holes in my skin as you haue now done in my Gowne.*

([n]) *Darius Persarum* rex vno aut altero anno priusquàm cum *Alexandro* confligeret, gladium quem indies gestabat *Persicum*, in *Macedonici* ensis formam commutavit; quod cum ad *Augures* relatum est, illi eos *Persiæ* rectores fore dicebant, quorum mores *Darius* in gladio imitatus esset. *Capitol. lib.* 2.

thee.

thee deride thee and ſay, well-fare his heart, he hath not loſt all, though he hath had ſome knocks and loſſes, yet he hath brought home the faſhion with him. If thou be a Gentleman, and they ſee thee laviſhing out in embroydered ſuits more rich than thy revenues will maintaine, they preſently conclude, *there goes a* (°) *painted foole, one who carryes a burden like Atlas, a whole mannor on his backe*; whoſe end if he amend not, in time will be beggery and miſery. If thou be effeminately clad, going all open in the dead time of the yeare, to ſhew a rich vndergarment that was never paid for, they preſently conclude, there goes one of *Venus* darlings, or *Cupids* whirligigs, one that hath a wind-mill in his head, and the breeſe in his tayle: whoſe end (if *Tyburne* take him not) will be in an Hoſpitall. If thou be of the feminine ſex, and in thy habit and attire doeſt reſemble the maſculine, *cutteſt thy* (*) *haire, thy chiefeſt ornament like vnto a man*, and weareſt thy Cloth's like vnto him, they preſently conclude, there goes a ſtrange woman, an Hermaphrodite, a *Proſerpina*, a good wife for *Pluto*, *Rhadamanthus*, or ſome of their followers or acquaintance: if thou be an *Engliſh*-woman, and they behold thee following the faſhion of thine owne Country in the Attire about thy head, in the habiliments about thy necke the faſhion of the *French*, and in thy long robes the faſhion of the *Spaniſh*, they preſently conclude, there goes a *Sphinx* or a (p) *Chimæra*, one whom GOD once made a woman, and ſhe hath made her ſelfe a monſter. If they behold thee rufft vp to the eares, cufft vp to the elbowes, and banded over thy ſhoulders, they preſently conclude, there goes Ruffe, Cuffe, and Band, a good ſubject for Poets to make ſport withall. If thou be a Citizen, and they behold thee gadding after new faſhions, turning faſt into looſe, *a flap into a fan*, they preſently conclude, there goes a Counterfeit baſtard Gentlewoman. If thou be a Gentlewoman, & they ſee thee one moneth in one faſhion,

(o) Pictus quidem eſt, et magis pictus, quàm gallus gallinaceus triginta gallinarum maritus.

*Vitijs olim vtebãtur honeſtæ mulieres, meretrices non.
Briſon.
Vnde Poëta.
Scripſimus hæc illis, quarum non vitta ligatos
Attingit crines, nec ſtola longa pedes.
Ovid.

By the Statutes *of* Ireland Engliſh-men *are prohibited to weare their beards like* Iriſh-men. Vide Stat: Hibern: de Ann° 25°. *H.* 6. cap. 4. Rot. Parliament cap. 20. *We need a Law to prohibit* Engliſh-*Women to weare their haire like* Engliſh-men.

It would well become theſe women to put in vre the old faſhion of England, *to ride aſtride on their horſes; for I finde vntill the raigne of King* Richard *the ſecond they did ſo. Queene* Anne *the wife of King* Rich: *and Siſter to the Emperour* Winſlæus, *being the firſt that taught* Engliſh-women *to ride on ſide-ſaddles.*

(p) *Chimæram Homerus* ſic deſcribit.
Antè leo, retrò draco, media ipſa *chimæra.*

faſhion, the next moneth in another, the third in another, and ſo in as many faſhions as there are moneths in the yeare, they preſently conclude, there goes a wife for a Noble-man, that will make a Gentleman a beggar. If thou be a Lady, and they ſee thee daubed over with gold and ſilver, and pranckt vp with rich Iewels and precious ſtones, beyond thy degree & husbands eſtate, they preſently conclude, there goes (8) *a wanton, one who placeth her chiefeſt happineſſe in* (9) *ſtones*, and is not aſhamed of it, ſhe weares them in her forehead to enchaunt paſſengers, and to tole home Cuſtomers: the King of late honored her husband with the degree of Knighthood, and the Heralds gaue him Armes, and it ſhall coſt her a fall but ſhe will giue him a Creſt, and bring him into the forked order of the Knights of the Poſt. If they behold thee comming from the (9) *Painters ſhop, having apparelled thy face in an artificiall dye*, they preſently conclude, there goes a true Emblem of mortalitie, duſt and aſhes as beautifull as a roſe to the eye, but touch her ſhe is full of deadly poyſon. As like her old (r) *Grand-father* as ſhe can looke, that can like him metamorphoſe her ſelfe into any ſhape, as blind as a *worme* with pride and ſelfe-loue, as greedy as a *Vulture* to ſatisfie her beaſtly appetite, as deceitfull as a *Crocodile*, and as cruell as a *Hydra*; if they behold thee at midday in thy night habit, they preſently conclude, there goes an Owlybird, or more plainely, an vglybird, a fit wife for *Sardanapalus* or *Heliogabalus*, that turned the nights into dayes and the dayes into nights. Thus doe our Anticke outward apparances afford matter of ſport and paſtime to paſſengers and Poets. The Lawes therefore before mentioned are made to curbe vs, and keepe

(8) Eoce vas omnium vitiorum mulier ſine pudore, beſtia ſine honore, appetens primos recubitus in menſis, primam ſedem in Eccleſia, primatum in balneo, et choreis, ſemper pigra, rixoſa, criminoſa, ſcabioſa, omnibus odioſa, ſoli *Cerbero* chara, & in fallacijs optimè inſtituta.

(9) *It is the obſervatiõ of a learned* Herauld; *as many of the* Empreſſes *in former times did weare whole Kingdoms at their eares: ſo many Ladyes now adayes whole Mannors on their ſleeues.*

(9) Quæ pictas geritis facies, vos jure poteſtis,
Dicere cum *Flacco* pulvis & vmbra ſumus.
Owen:
Similes ſunt pulcherrimis iſtis libris quorum aurei quidem vmbilici, et purpurea foris pellis, cæterum intus, aut *Thyeſtes*, liberos in Conviuio comedens, aut *Oedipus* matris maritus, aut *Terreus* cum duabus ſororibus rem habens; de quibus Poëta;
Illa foris picto ſimilis mihi viſa libello.
Et alibi.

Hæ quidem ſunt foris pulchræ, intus morbidæ, marcentes et mirè informes, & ſimiles parieti incruſtato, intra quem multa ruinoſa ſunt; aut ſepulchro ſplendidè foris extructo, quod deformes intus calvarias, nuda oſſa, & obſcænos fœtores continet, Vnde Poëta;

Eſt roſa quæ primâ dulcedine fundit odorem. At grave formoſâ ſub cute virus olet.

(r) Eſt ſerpens, vermis, vultur, Crocodylus, et Hydra.

VS

vs in, that *we exceede not a decorum in our* (10) *habits and attyre.*

Rustic: What Cloths may we weare, I pray you, to avoyde the Lawes and the Censure of the multitude?

Iurisp: Any Cloth's that doe not savour of irregularitie, of too much basenesse, or too much pompe and gorgeousnesse. For *by the wearing of Cloths, a man must not thinke to purchase any* (s) *fame or renowne: Munditiæ mulieribus, labor viris convenit*, Neatnesse and cleanlines belongs to women, but the onely glory and ornament to a man is valour and magnanimitie. *Insana est ambitio fimum tegere purpurâ, & pallidum cadaver in pheretro aureo ponere, nam quò plus ornatus, eò plus horroris habet*, saith one of the wits of his time, *the witty and sententious* (11) *Orator and Poet Petrarch the Italian*, it is a kinde of madnesse to enamell mud-walles with gold and silver. Put a stinking Carkasse into a golden Coffin, it smells never the lesse. Put what Cloth's you will vpon a Blackamore, you shall never make him white, nay, the more rich you cloth him, the more deformed you shall finde him.

For Contraries each other best descry,
Swart Crowes seeme blacker, when white Swans stand by.

Wherefore if my advise might passe for Currant, I would haue every true *Britaine* to put on the resolution of a true *Romane*; and to be like vnto *Augustus*, who thought it a dishonour and disparagement to himselfe and his Country, to be beholding to his neighbouring Countryes for Cloth's to put on his backe.

Rustic: I would to God I had given my Teeme of Horses and Oxen too, that there were a Law made to tye vs to weare our Country-Commodities, and none other; and *the old Law made in the dayes of King* (t) *Edward the 3.* were revived, and the Statute made in the dayes

(10) Modus in vestitu observandus; ita vt nec luxuriosus vt prodigus, nec sordidus vt avarus, nec comptus vt meretrix, nec rusticus vt colonus, nec ineptus vt aulæ tyro, sed aptus, mundus et honestus, incuriosus, sed non indecorus, Vt eleganter Iac: nuper Rex in lib. 3. ad *H.* Principem.
Providè tam ab antiquis patribus, quàm à modernis tradita est moderatio de habitu; quia per exteriorem habitum, sæpè interior designatur. Vide constitut: *Othobon:* sub titulo de habitu Cleric.

(s) Cordato egregióq; adolescẽti nihil turpius est, quàm in cute curanda plus æquo operari. *Seneca.*
Rectè *Epictetus*; hebetis ingenij esse docet in rebus corporis immorari, cum quæ ad illud pertinent faciẽda sunt obiter: cura autem omnis ad animum transferenda est.

(11) Petrarch *was a man of great account in* Italy, *his Auncestors were* Florentines, *and lived in exile, but he returned home, and dyed in his owne Countrie of an Apoplexie, being seaventie yeares of age wanting but a day; he was buryed at* Arquato Montanere, *a village belonging vnto* Padua, *where in honour of him a Sepulcher of Marble was built, and an Epitaph of his owne making inscribed, part whereof is as followeth.*
Frigida Francisci lapis hic tegit ossa *Petrarchæ*,
Fessúsq; in terris, cœli requiescit in arce.

(t) *By the Stat. of* 11. Edw 3. *Cloth made out of the Realme was prohibited to be worne.*

dayes of King *Henry* 8. were put in execution, I am ſure, it would be well for vs if it were ſo. Our Wools would not ſticke vpon our hands as now they doe; and I beleeve the Citizens would not be ſorry for it.

Iuriſp: Sir, in my opinion, there ſhould not neede a Law in this Caſe if we did affect our Countryes as wee ſhould, every mans reaſon ſhould be ſufficient to prevaile with him. Why ſhould any *Engliſh man* trouble himſelfe or others to ſend ſo farre as *Naples* and *Perſia* for ſilkes to Cloth him, when as he may furniſh himſelfe with materialls *more vſefull and neceſſary in his* (12) *owne Country?* Why ſhould he beſtow hundreds in forraine parts to feede moths and Cankars, when he may feede them at home a great deale better-cheape? Certainely, I know not, vnleſſe he will allow this Paradoxe to be a Principle, *That things farre fet and deare bought are good for Engliſhmen.* The Lawes of God and nature enjoyne vs to loue our Countryes, and to preferre the vſefull Commodities thereof before the ſuperfluous Commodities of forraine Nations, the Wooll of ſheepe before the excrements of wormes. If we lived neare vnto the *Torrid Zone*, or in any hot Country, we might haue ſome colour to affect the Commodities of *Perſia* and *Naples*; but living in a Climate rather inclinable to cold than heate, where if one quarter of the yeare proue hot, the reſt is cold. I know no reaſon for mine owne part, wherefore we ſhould ſo much affect to weare thoſe forraine light Commodities. If therefore we cannot be allured to affect our Coũtries (which every good diſpoſition naturally doth, and preferreth the Commodities thereof before the Commodities of forraine Nations) by any argument drawne *ab vtili & Commodo*. Yet let vs be allured by arguments drawne *a neceſſario*; yet being as great a Solæciſme for ſuch as live in cold Countries to put on light Cloth's, as for ſuch as live in hot Countries to weare heavy garments.

Ruſtic:

(12) Dictum fuit olim per *H. Huntingtonen.*

Anglia terrarum decus & flos finitimarum,
Eſt contenta ſui fertilitate boni.
—Anglia dulce ſolum
Et tua dulcedo priſtina, dulce facit.
Quæ nihil a Gallis, ſed Gallia mutuat à te,
Quicquid honoris habet, quicquid amoris habet.
Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid deſiderat vſus,
Ex te proveniat.
Inſula prædives quæ toto vix eget orbe
Et cujus totus indiget orbis ope.

Dictũ eſt de *Innocentio* quarto, quòd amore fervido & flagranti ad videndum divitias *Londini* & delicias *Weſtm.* captus erat.

In laudem *Britanniæ* quidam ita ſcripſit.

Illa quidem longè celebri ſplendore beata,
Glebis, lacte, favis, ſupereminet inſula cunctis,
Quas regit ille deus; ſpumanti cujus ab ore
Profluit *Oceanus*.
Teſtes *Londonia* ratibus, *Wintonia Bacche*,
Hereforda grege, *Worceſtria* fruge redundans,
Batha lacu, *Salebira* feris, *Cantuaria* piſce,
Eboracum ſilvis, *Exceſtria* clara metallis, &c.

Hen: Hunting: hiſt. Lib. 1. initio.

Rustic: Sir, if you tell *Socrates* or *Seneca*, that they ought to preferre their Countryes; the one of them will tell you, that he is *Mundanus*, *that the whole world is his Countrie*: and *the* (t) *other*, *that that is his Country where he fares best*, *and hath best entertainement*, and *that it is not for* (w) *noble spirits to be chayned and wedded to any one corner of the earth*, as to neglect the other parts of it, having an interest in the whole; it is for snayles that want legs to walke and wings to flie, for bondmen and slaues that are debarred of libertie to be tyed to places, but for Eagles and free-men that haue the world at will, to take benefit of the whole. If the foggie vapours of the Ilands offend them, to flie into the Countryes more constant and setled: and if the heate neare vnto the line offend them, to betake themselues vnto more temperate Climates.

(t) In quamcúnq; terram venio, (inquit *Seneca*) in meam venio. Patria est, vbicúnq; est benè; illud autem per quod benè est, est in homine, non in loco.

(w) Libera mens quæ per orbem naviter vagandi facultatem habet ad vnum angulum, vel angustum vnius Ciuitatis, aut prouinciolæ gyrum terminari nolit.

Iurisp: O but I would tell them againe, that

Necessitie forceth every wight,
To loue his Country with all his might.

I meane that Country wherein he drew his first breath, where he trod his first steps, where he received his education, which fashioned his minde, and gaue him a well-being in the world, where his lands and reuenewes lye, and where his friends and acquaintance are bound vp fast together in the bonds of consanguinitie and affinitie, and I would send them to no other Schoolemaister than to the dumbe Creatures to be instructed herein: the Naturalists doe obserue, that the Hare when shee is hunt will hasten to the place where she was bred, to take her last farewell; that the Foxe though he prey abroad, yet will kennell at home; that the fowles of the ayre & fishes of the Sea by an instinct of nature, are so taken with the places where they were bred, that they will never depart farre from them. So that God and nature

enjoynes every one to loue the Countryes & the Commodities thereof, where they are gouerned by good and wholesome Lawes, and enjoy their possessions in safetie before other forraine Countryes and Commodities; of whose Lawes they receiue no benefit.

Rustic: O but if a man suite himselfe with such Commodities onely as his owne Country can afford him, no man will set by him, or regard him, whereas if he be clad in silkes and velvets and the rich Commodities of other Nations, every man will honour him, as the (x) *Persians did Cyrus*, when they beheld him in all his bravery.

Iurisp: Truely amongst wise men Cloth's make no difference, if they savour not of irregularitie. Marry glittering shewes doe oftentimes dasle the eyes of silly women, and sometimes also of silly and simple men; whose wits haue not an edge to pierce any further than the outside onely, but *Solon will discover Cræsus to be Cræsus*, let him put on what (14) habit he will, and a wise man will know an Asse to be an Asse by his neighing, though he be clad in a Lyons or a Foxes skinne. It was an apt answere which *Solon* once gaue *Cræsus*, when *Cræsus* had put himselfe into a gorgeous habit & attire, and would needs know of him whether ever he saw a more beautifull sight in all his life; told him that he had seene the Peacocke, that went more gorgeously on the weeke dayes, than he did on the holy dayes. It was a prettie passage likewise which happened betweene the poore man and the proud man in the Dialogue. A *Glorioso* vaunting of his painted Cloth's that they were not like other mens, but of a new fashion and different Cut vnto them, which the poore man hearing, thinking he had beene out of his wits, tooke heart vnto himselfe, and was so bold as to tell him, that better men were cõtent to weare worse Cloth's, and that worse Cloth's would better become him; they being neither fit for him

(x) *Cyrus* apud *Xenoph:* splendidissimo amictu describitur, et ob eum apparatum obstupefactos *Persas* cæpisse ipsum adorare, cùm antehac adorâsset nemo.
Xenoph: lib. 8. Cyrop:

(14) Nemo ex istis quos purpuratos vides (inquit *Seneca*) fælix est, non magis quàm ex illis, quibus sceptrũ & chlamydem in scæna fabulæ assignant, cùm præsente populo elati incessierunt, et cothurnati, simul exiêrunt, excalceantur, & ad statum suum redeunt.
Senec. Epist. 76.
Navis bona dicitur non quæ pretiosis coloribus picta est, nec cui argenteum et aureum est rostrum, nec quæ fiscis & opibus regijs pressa est: sed quæ stabilis et firma est, et ad ferendum incursum maris solida. Regula non quàm formosa, sed quàm recta quæritur. in homine autem nihil ad rem pertinet, quantum aret, quantũ fæneret, à quàm multis saluteur, quàm pretioso incumbat lecto, quàm pellucido poculo bibat, sed quàm bonus sit.
Senec. ibid.

him, nor he for them; and that he did much marvaile, that he being but a servant should not content himselfe to weare such Cloth's as his owne Country could afford him, but should *trouble the* (y) *Belgians, the Persians to spinne, card, and weave, to make him a garment*, which was neither civill, nor manly, nor beseeming a *Romane*, but effeminate, profuse, and ridiculous. When as the great *Augustus*, that was Lord of all, could be well content to weare home-made Cloth's, such as his owne familie, his wife, his daughter, his sister, and neeces did provide for him. Such respect, as this *Glorioso* drew vnto himselfe, doe painted Cloth's and gorgeous outsides draw vnto a man, making him indeede to be hated and contemned. I would therefore haue every true *Britaine*, I say it againe and againe, to put on the resolution of a true *Romane*, and to be like *Augustus*, whom I finde in the Catalogue of the most renowned Princes, (*) *Qui veste non aliâ quàm domesticâ vsus est.*

(y) Tu fortassis aliorum servus disjunctissimas fatigas gentes, tibi nent, tibi pectũt, tibi nexunt *Belgæ*, tibi *Persæ*: *Augusto* cunctorum domino, aut vxor et filia sororq; cum neptibus.
Petrarch.

(*) *Sueton:* in *Augusto.* Petrarch.

Rustic: I hope you will allow the gallant Courtly Ladyes, and the lustie Country Lasses, that haue not disposed of their Virginities, to set forth themselues in the richest Ornaments and attire that money can buy.

Iurisp: Quæ pura sunt nuda videri amant, mos est fœda coloribus abdere; vertue never appeares more beautifull than when she presents her selfe naked vnto vs. It is the condition of vice to cloth her selfe in colours to cover her deformitie. Certainely, the Ladyes of the Court, and the Lasses of the Countrey, can no way better set forth themselues, than by putting vpon them the habits of (z) modestie and civilitie. These will make them glitter like the starres in the Firmament; smell like the gardens of *Adonis* and *Alcinous*, and draw the affections of Sutors and affectionate followers vnto them more powerfully, than the (a) *tongues of Cicero and Cyneas* did the eares of their Auditors. (b) Outward ornaments of Cloth of silver and tissue, of silkes and velvets, of jewels

(z) Peregrini odores, atq; omne artificium benè olendi sunt signa defectuum; sed bonæ famæ odor bonus, latiúsq; sensibilis, quàm aromatum, si teratur, aut sulphurũ, si cremetur *Petrarch.*
Bonne renommée vaut mieux que ceinture d'orée,
A good name is better than a Crowne of gold.

(a) *Cyneas* fuit *Pyrrho* in delicijs, & de illo dicere solebat, quòd plures *Cyneas* cum lingua, quàm *Pyrrhus* cum gladio & pugione vicit.
Linguam *Ciceronis* appellavit *Ennius* flexanimem, quia animum in quamcúnq; vellet partem raperet.

(b) Esse potest locuples, improbus atq; probus.

and precious ſtones, are common as well to the bad as to the good, to whores as to chaſt Matrons & Virgins: but theſe alone are impropriated to vertue and goodneſſe. Yet I will acquaint you with a Cuſtome which the old *Romanes* vſed; the *Romanes* were vſed during the minoritie of their children, to make little difference betweene their ſonnes and their ſervants, their daughters and their hand-maides, by clothing and attyring them, that time they ſet apart for the beautifying & adorning of their mindes in all kinde of literature, and did conceiue to pranke them vp *in* (c) *Cloth's, would be a meanes to withdraw their affections* from thoſe things, which in future times would doe them more good; and therefore vntill the time they intended to beſtow them in marriage, they kept them in a kinde of ſervitude, but then as *Flora* in her prime, as the Sunne at the higheſt, or the Moone in her complement did they ſet them forth; ſo that every childe tooke notice by the ſuddaine alteration of their habits, what their parẽts did intend towards them: and ſo Sutors as to a fayre and market repaired vnto them. Which cuſtome of theirs I commend as a moſt laudable cuſtome, but for ſuch as are alreadie preferred, to laviſh out in Cloth's beyond their degrees and eſtates, and to no other end, than to ſteale away the affections of husbands from their wiues, or of wiues from their husbands, that I vtterly condemne and diſallow.

(c) Veſtitus inſignis ſuperbiæ vexillum nidúſq; luxuriæ.
Petrarch.

Ruſtic: Sir, you haue ſufficiently ſhewed how idleneſſe, drunkenneſſe, and the inordinate wearing of apparrell doe conduce to the breach of the Lawes derived out of the ſacred Law; and what the Lawes of *Commonition* are which doe puniſh the ſame by way of prevention. I pray you in the next place ſhew what the Lawes are which doe puniſh Adultery when it is committed, and what puniſhments the Lawes haue provided for the ſame.

Iuriſp:

Iuriſp: The Lawes that puniſh Adultery, are Lawes of *Animadverſion*; which (as the Lawes of *Commonition* doe puriſh onely *ad Caſtigationem*, that the delinquent himſelfe may be ſtayed and ſtopped in his vnruly courſes,) ſo theſe doe puniſh *ad ruinam*; that others ſeeing the puniſhments may be deterred from committing the like offences.

Ruſtic: What are the puniſhments which the Lawes inflict vpon offenders in this kinde?

Iuriſp: By the Law of God the puniſhment was no leſſe than death; the (d) *Adulterer and Adultereſſe ſhall dye the death.* If you looke into the ſacred Scripture, you may there behold that for the tranſgreſſion of one man in this kinde, a whole Tribe hath ſuffered; for the tranſgreſſion of many, whole Cities haue ſuffered; for the tranſgreſſion of the multitude, the whole world hath ſuffered. If you reade but the ſtory of (e) *Sichem* and *Dina*, you ſhall there ſee how that for the tranſgreſſion of *Sichem*, all the *Sichemites* ſuffered; how the (f) *Benjamites* ſuffered for ỹ abuſe offered to the *Levites* wife: how *David* for *Vrias* wife; how *Pharaoh* for *Abrahams* wife; how *Sampſon* for *Dalila*. If you looke into the ſtory of *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*, you may there behold how that this tranſgreſſion was a principall cauſe of the ruine and deſtruction of thoſe famous flouriſhing Cities. If you looke into the Tragedie of *Troas*, you ſhall there behold the puniſhment due to this tranſgreſſion lively ſet forth by *Seneca* in the beginning of the Tragedie in *Hecuba*, where ſhe bewayling the incertaintie and mutabilitie of all worldly pompe and pleaſure, wiſheth all ſuch as place their felicitie in it, to make her and the Citie of *Troy* their objects and looking glaſſes.

(d) *Levit.* 20. *v.* 10.

(e) *Gen.* 34.

(f) *Iudg.* 19.

(g) *Quicunq́, regno fidit,*
Et magnâ potens dominatur aulâ,
Me videat, & te Troja.

(g) *Seneca in Troad. initio.*

Who ſo in pompe of proud eſtate,
Or Kingdome ſets delight;
Or who that joyes in Princes Court,
To beare the ſway of might.
Ne dread the fates, which from aboue
The mightie God downe-flings;
But faſt affiance fixed hath,
In fraile and fickle things.
Let him in me both ſee the face
Of Fortunes flattering joy,
And eke reſpect the ruthfull end,
Of thee O ruinous Troy. *Senec. in Troad.*

(h) *Gen. 6. & 7.* Heu tanta impietas toto graſſatur in orbe, Vt ſubmerſa deus cuncta animata velit!

If you looke into the Hiſtory of the (h) *old world*, you ſhall there ſee that this tranſgreſſion was a principall pioner to vndermine the earth, and to open the ſluces to let in the deluge vpon it. So odious hath this tranſgreſſion beene in the ſight of God, and ſuch ſharpe and ſevere puniſhments hath God ever inflicted vpon tranſgreſſors in this kinde.

Ruſtic: What Canonicall Lawes haue beene made to puniſh this tranſgreſſion; and how did the *Iewes* and the Heathen people puniſh the ſame, I pray you acquaint me.

Inrid: You ſhall vnderſtand, that by the auncient Canons of the Church, that he or ſhe that was convicted of Adultery, was to doe penance for the ſpace of ſeaven yeares, before he could receiue a plenary abſolution. By the peculiar Canonicall Lawes of this Nation wherein you liue, if a Miniſter had beene convicted of Adultery, all his goods were preſently to (i) *devolve vnto his wife and children*, if ſo be he had any; if not, to ſuch good vſes as the Iudge in his diſcretion ſhould thinke fit; and if he had beene formerly promoted to any Benefice, to haue beene deprived, and to haue beene made incapable ever after to haue enjoyed any other; and

(i) Reformat. legum Eccleſiaſt: de adulterijs et divortijs. *Cap* 2.

and to haue beene baniſht, or otherwiſe to haue ſuffered perpetuall impriſonment; if ſhe had beene a wife that had thus tranſgreſſed, ſhe was to looſe her dowry, and all the fortune ſhe could expect from her husband, and either to be baniſht, or to ſuffer perpetuall impriſonment. The fundamentall Lawes of our Nation take no notice of theſe offences, but leaveth the puniſhment thereof wholy to the Eccleſiaſticall Iudges; but if the Adultery be inforc't, then doe our Lawes not onely puniſh the malefactors, but their (k) *dumbe Creatures, their Horſes, Hawkes, and dogs,* by diſfiguring of them, that every man may take notice by looking vpon them, of what condition their Maiſters are; which Lawes continued in force vntill about the time of King *Edw.* the 1. who by the Statute of **Weſtm.* the 1. mitigated the rigor of thoſe Lawes, making this offence to be but a treſpaſſe; but afterwards finding ſome inconveniences to ariſe, by reaſon of this mitigatiō by the ſtatute of **Weſt.* the 2°. he cauſed this offence to be made felony againe. So ſtrict haue the Statute and fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome wherein we live beene againſt enforc't Adulteries. By the Lawes of the *Iewes* the puniſhment was death, or a (l) *puniſhment as grievous.* If the offence had beene committed in the Summer time, they were to vndergoe the Ant-penance, which was to ſit for a certaine ſeaſon in an Ant-hill, his eares and noſe being ſtopt: if in the Winter time, then they were enjoyned the Water-penance, to ſit vp to the chin in cold water for a certaine ſeaſon. Which kinde of puniſhment it is ſaid that *Adam* vnder-went in *Medeaſch* for eating of the forbidden fruit: if the ſeaſon were neither hot nor cold, then a certaine kinde of faſting was enjoyned for the preſent, and when Winter or Summer which firſt approached came, then they were to vndergoe the Ant or Water-penance. By the Lawes of the Heathens the puniſhment was different, according to the diverſitie of Nations.

(k) Equus ejus dedecorabitur, caudâ ejus abſciſſâ, canis leporarius, vel alius eodem modo dedecorabitur, ſi habet accipitrem, perdat beccam, vngues, et caudam. *Braſt. lib.* 2.

* *Weſtm.* 1. *cap.* 13.

* *Weſtm.* 2. 38.

(l) *Buxdorf. de Synagoga Iudaica. cap.* 34.

(m) Tiraquil. in Alexand. ab Alexand.

Nations. In (m) *Tenedos* the punishment was that the delinquents of both sexes should be beheaded: in *Iudea* they were stoned. Among the old *Germanes* the punishment of the *Adultereſſe* was first to haue her haire cut off and to be banisht from her husbands house, and afterwards to be whipt naked throughout every street of the Towne. Amongst the *Pysadas*, they were carried vpon an Asse, their head towards the Asses tayle. Among the (n) *Ægyptians, the woman had her nose cut off*, and the man his privie members: which Law was put in execution by the *Romanes* and the *Græcians*. *Carbo* among the *Romanes* was bereaved of his privie members, because he willingly and wilfully mistooke his marke, and *Dydimos* the Fidler among the *Græcians* was hanged vp by that Instrument in which he tooke most pleasure. Among the *Locrenſes*, *Zelencus* made a Law, that he which committed this offence, should forfeit both his eyes; which he executed so strictly, that to satisfie the Law, his sonne being found guiltie thereof, he caused one of his owne eyes to be put out. Among the *Parthians*, no offence was punished with greater severitie. Among the *Arabians*, it was Capitall. By the Law of *Opilius Macrinus*, they were burnt that committed this offence. And certainely, if the man taken in the very act of Adultery, had beene bereaved of his privie members, it had beene good Iustice by the Lawes of the *Græcians* and *Romanes*. The Case stood thus, one being taken abed with his neighbours wife, the husband cõming in, and finding them abed together, without making any vprore, cut off the nose of the Adulterer; and so suffered him to depart; this man walking abroad with his nose in his hand, seeing every man to deride him, that knew vpon what termes he lost it: at the first was much dejected, but afterwards putting on as good a face as a man without a nose could doe, gaue out how *Don Diago* being drunke and starke mad, with foolish jealousie had

(n) Existimabant Ægyptij mulierem sese ad illicitã cõtinentiã exornantem, oportere ea parte mutilari, qua faciẽ maximè exornatur. Diod. Sic. lib. 1. rerum antiq.

had assaulted him, and taking advantage of his nakednesse, being vnarmed, had surprised him and disfigured his face vpon a false ground, that he had beene too familiar with his wife: which begat a suite, and comming to hearing, the judgement was against the nose-cutter, for that it was not lawfull for a private man to doe which a publicke Magistrate could not: the (*) *nose never offended,* and therefore to punish it was to punish the innocent; but had he served him as *Carbo* was by the Lawes of the *Romanes,* he might haue justified it. So strict were the Lawes even of the Heathens against Adultery.

(*) Quis tibi persuasit nares abscindere mœcho? Non hac peccatum est parte (marite) tibi.
Martial. lib. 3. Epig. 84.

Rustic: I pray you giue me leaue to expostulate a little with you, seeing that Adultery and Fornication are things so odious & abominable in the eye of all Lawes, and marriage so honourable, to what purpose were the *Iulian* Lawes made, which did prohibite men after sixtie, and women after fiftie yeares of age to marry.

Iurid: To no purpose at all, and therefore they were repealed by *Iustinians* Lawes; for generally the end wherefore marriage was prohibited was procreation of children, which did occasion couetousnesse, and to prohibite that in men of those yeares was but to prohibite that which the Lawes of nature had prohibited before. Chastitie was ever held an honourable and commendable vertue amongst the Heathens, yet such a Chastitie as was voluntary and not compulsarie. *Porcia* had never been recorded amongst the *Romanes* for a chast woman, had there been a Law to haue restrained her not to haue married, nor the daughter of *Marcus Cato* for her discreete Answers, who being moved againe and againe to marriage, answered no, I know not how to better my selfe, for if I meete with as good a one as I had before, I shall feare to loose him as I did him; if with a worse, the world will condemne me that I could not content my selfe when I was well: neither would the memories

of (o) *Valeria* and *Artemisia* haue continued so long, had not the loue they bore to their former husbands, and not the Lawes restrained them from taking other husbands vnto them. So that without doubt those Lawes were made to little or no purpose at all.

(o) *Valeria* solebat dicere sibi semper maritum suum viuere: & *Artemisia* quòd defunctum virum sicut vivũ adamabat.

Rustic: To what purpose then were the Lawes made which did prohibite second marriages, vpon a penaltie that women should forfeite whatsoever they had by their former husbands, and be branded with infamie?

Iurid: Certainly, there were never any Lawes made to punish marriages (p) *duely celebrated and solemnized*; but the Lawes you speake of were made to punish too too speedy marriages, that is, if the woman had married within the yeare after her husbands death, which in (q) *auncient time was set apart for mourning and lamentation*, and not for mirth and marriages; which Lawes were therefore made to restraine the vnbridled lusts and affections of such immodest women as I shall acquaint you with. There lived sometimes in *Vtopia* a certaine woman, who so much lamented her husbands death as if she would haue dyed with (r) *Thisbe vpon his Corpse*, who attending him to his graue in a mournefull manner, sounded out nothing els but I would to God I might lye with thee, I would to God I might lye with thee; but it so happened that this (*) woman that made such a shew of lamentation, within very few dayes after married her selfe to a servant of hers, that led her by the arme to see her husband interred; so that by the sequel the people gathered that her meaning was y shee might lye with him that led her, and not with her husband in the grave; which being noysed abroad, she became a scorne even to the children, so long as she continued in *Vtopia*. So that I say, that marriages duely executed were never punishable, but too too speedie marriages, such as this was.

(p) Matrimonium ritè factum nunquam punitur, sed nuptiæ festinatio.
Iustin. de secundis nuptijs.

(q) Olim tenebatur mulier lugere virum per spatium 10 mensium; tempus hodiè est annus.

(r) Thisbe *loved* Pyramus *so fervently that with the same sword that he slew himselfe for loue of her, she killed her selfe for loue of him, and dyed vpon his Corps.*

(*) Mulieri ne credas ne mortuæ quidem.
Horat.

Rustic:

Ruſtic: To what purpoſe likewiſe (if marriage be honorable among all men) were the Lawes made that reſtrained decrepit, aged & impotent people from marrying with young wiues?

Iuriſp: Certainely, I never read of any ſuch Lawes, and indeed there needeth none, for ſuch marriages are of themſelues ſufficient puniſhments vnto them, as appeares by the marriage of (f) *Iannary* and *May* in the *Engliſh*-Poet. Old Father *Ianuary* having paſt the heate of youth in a ſingle life, in his decrepit old age doted vpon a wife, and none would ſerue his turne but a Virgin of fifteene; and why, marry becauſe (to vſe the Poets language)

(f) *See the* Marchants-tale. *Chaucer.*

A young thing a man may gye,
Right as man may warme Wax with hands plye.

And according to his deſire it ſo happened, that he met with the young Lady(*) *May*, whom he made his wife; but ſee what befell him. Not long after the marriage was ſolemnized, (15) *Venus* (as ſhe is a profeſſed enemy to the eyes) deprived him of his ſight, and then as old men naturally vſe to doe, he beganne to grow peeviſh, jealous, and ſuſpitious, and to Conjure his young wife, as ſhe deſired to haue glory in heaven, honour on earth, and to enjoy his poſſeſſions, to be true vnto him: but notwithſtanding ſhe made this proteſtation.

(*) Diſcipulis quod virga, novis eſt Virgo maritis: Virga ſolet pueros, virgo domare viros.

(15) Balnea vina *Venus*, ventus piper, allia, fumus, Iſta nocent oculis, ſed vigilare magis.

See more of this in the tragicall Hiſtorie of Syponus *and* Victorina; *Where is ſhewed how diſparity in yeares ſildome makes true harmony in affection, and how difficult it is for youth & age to ſympathize, and that then is deſerued eternall praiſe and commendation, when* Ianuary *and* May *liue like* Venus *and* Adonis.

I pray God that never daw the day,
That I ne ſtarve as foule as woman may,
If ever I doe my kinne that ſhame;
Or elſe that I impaire ſo my name.
That I be falſe, and if I doe that lacke
Doe ſtrip me, and put me in a ſacke;
And in the next River doe me drench,
I am a Gentlewoman and no wench.

Notwithstanding, I say, she made this protestation, yet she suffered *Damian* her servant, *Damian* in whom *January* reposed his greatest confidence, to defile his bed: So that (I say) such marriages are sufficient punishments in themselues, and neede no Lawes to restraine them.

Rustic: Sir, I am sure there are Lawes that restraine Clergie-men from marriage, to what purpose were they made (I pray you) if marriage be (t) *honorable amongst all,* and Adultery and Fornication abominable?

(t) Honorabile conjugium inter omnes 13. Heb 4. neminem excludit qui dicit omnes.

Zanch.

Iurisp: You must know, that at such times as those canonicall Lawes were made, the Pope sat in the chayre and swayed all, profit and commoditie was the end and scope of all, and Hospitalitie and reliefe of the poore were clokes and pretences to bring to passe and to effect all. For vnder those goodly pretences of Hospitalitie and reliefe of the poore, divers Councels were swayed to restraine marriage in the Clergie, being alledged that wife and children must needs occasion covetousnesse in them, and draw that reliefe to individualls which did belong to the multitude: whereas if they were restrained they could not be so vngratefull, but either in life or death to remember the poore, and the Church from whose breasts they had sucke whatsoever they had. These were faire pretences, and made a glorious shew in the Councell of *Nice,* vntill old (u) *Paphnutius* stood vp and shewed the inconveniences which ensued by reason of this restraint, maintaining this position, Conjugall Matrimonie to be true Chastitie, with such reasons and authorities, that he drew the whole Councell vnto him; and these pretences prevailed much with *Gregorie* the great, vntill that he was truely informed, how that at one time there were found in a Fish-pond the (w) *heads of two thousand Infants* murthered, the issues of adulterous and incestuous persons, occasioned principally, as it was thought, by reasō of this restraint, for being prohibited the ordinary meanes, they fell to ex-

(u) *Socrates* Schol: lib. 1. cap. 8. *Zosim.* lib. 1. cap. 22.

(w) *Lonicerus.*

extraordinary, and ſo from one ſinne to another, from whoredome to murther.

Ruſtic: If ſuch inconveniences ariſe by reaſon of reſtraining of men from marriage, it were more needfull in my opinion, that the old Law of the *Romanes* of (x) *Papia* or *Poppæa, which prohibited ſingle life*, and provided, that if any ſhould abſtaine from marriage and die without iſſue, the people ſhould inherit his goods, ſhould be ſet afoote againe.

(x) *Tacitus lib. 3. cap. 3.*

Iuriſt: Without doubt if it were, there would not be ſo much vncleanneſſe, and ſo many exorbitant offences committed as now adayes there is in the world: neither ſhould we ſo often as we doe, fall from one ſinne to another, from whoredome to murther. The (y) *nature of man* doth ever long and thirſt after that which is prohibited. The (z) *old man in Claudian* ſo long as there was no tye vpon him, could well content himſelfe to liue within the Circuit of a little model of ground all his life time, but when he was reſtrained his libertie, that went neare vnto him: the (a) *Singers in the Poet* could hardly be drawne to ſing at any time by their beſt friends, vntill there was a Law that did command them to hold their peace, but then their beſt friends could hardly make them to be ſilent. The ſtricteſt ſect of men are men, and ſubject to the infirmities of men, and for them to be reſtrained from the meanes which the Law of God and nature doth allow to all Creatures, it cannot but goe neare vnto them. If a woman, a woman? no, but a monſter in the ſhape of a woman, ſhall very oftentimes (the more the pittie) to avoyde ſhame and ignominy onely, lay violent hands vpon the fruit of her owne wombe, and ſend it to his graue by vntimely death, what can be expected from ſuch vpon whom the Lawes inflict not ſhame alone, but (b) *death for ſuch an offence?*

(y) Nitimur in vetitum ſemper cupimúſq; negata.

(z) Felix qui propriis ævum tranſegit in arvis;
Ipſa domus puerum, quem videt ipſa ſenem.
Indocilis rerum, vicinæ neſcius vrbis;
Aſpectu fruitur liberiore poli. *Claudian: de Sene,* qui juxta *Veronam* conſiſtēs, villâ ſuâ nunquam egreſſus eſſet.

(a) Omnibus hoc vitium cantoribus inter amicos,
Vt nunquam inducant animum cantare rogati;
Injuſſi nunquam deſiſtant. *Horat. lib. 1. Serm: Sat. 3.*

(b) *By the Statute of 32. H. 8. cap. 14. it was felonie for a Prieſt to lye with a woman, though he had been married to her.*

ſpeake of were ſet on foote, ſo many murthers would not be committed, but I verily perſwade my ſelfe that covetouſneſſe would more abound.

Iuriſp: No certainely; for in whatſoever condition or ſtate of life the Blackamore liveth in, he will never change his hew; to a covetous diſpoſition it is all one whether he hath wife or no wife, childe or no childe, he will be covetous ſtill; giue *Alexander* the world, yet he will deſire more worlds. The Kingdome of *Greece* will ſcant content *Agamemnon*, when as (c) *Vlyſſes is well contented with his Ithaca.* To moderate minds a (d) *little is enough*, but to the covetous nothing. Doe we not ſee ſome in the midſt of plentie, live in penury diſcontentedly, and to be readie to put an end to their dayes, with the Covetous man in *Caſtilio*, as often as (e) *Corne growes cheape*, and others full of Children to live happily & contentedly vpon a meane eſtate? wiues and children are but Clokes to the Covetous to cover their Covetouſneſſe. *Caligulaes* (f) *Daughter* was made the inſtrument to fill his Coffers, vpon her forſooth the burthen of his covetouſneſſe muſt be laid: as ſoone as ſhe was borne, then he complaines of povertie, and of the heavie burthens that lay vpon him, the one as Emperour, the other as Father: and then doth he by a publike Edict declare that he would receiue all Newyeares gifts thankfully, and then & not before did he wallow in his heapes of gold and ſilver. But had his daughter never beene borne, he would haue adopted twentie rather than his Coffers ſhould haue beene emptie. So that it is not the ſtate and condition of life we live in, that can moderate our affections, & make them either covetous or abſtemious, but it is grace infuſed in the divine part muſt doe the deede.

Ruſtic: Sir, giue me leaue, I pray you, to aske you one queſtion more, and ſo I will forbeare to trouble you any further touching the Lawes of Adultery. What

(c) *Vlyſſes Ithacam* ſuam immortalitati à *Calypſo* oblatæ antepoſuit.

(d) Opes quid curas? fortunam, veluti tunicam magis concinnam proba, quàm longam.
Lipſ: lib. 1. polit. cap. 6.

(e) Cùm in ſumma caritate frumentum vendere recuſaſſet avarus; & paulò poſt dimidio minoris eſſet pretij; deſperatione exanimatus, laqueo ſe clanculùm in cubiculo ſuſpendit; cúmq; acceſſit ſervus, & funē ocyùs præcidit, avarus tanto diſcrimine liberatus cùm ſe recolligeret, fremere cæpit & indignari conſciſſum ſibi laqueum tam novitum, & de pretio cum ſervo expoſtulabat.
Caſtil: lib. 2.

(f) *Sueton:* in *Caligula.*

What is the reaſon wherefore by the Lawes of God the puniſhment due to the Adulterer and Adultereſſe is death, and by the Canonicall Lawes but pecuniary and corporall, which manner of puniſhment as I conceiue, doth in no degree ſuite with the nature of the offence? for I ingenuouſly confeſſe, I ſhould ſooner pardon any one that ſhould take away my Horſe, my Oxe, or my Plowe, nay, my Horſe, Oxe, Plowe, and all, though they conduce much to my livelihood, than that they ſhould diſmember me, take away *one* (16) *halfe of my ſelfe, my wife from me*. Yet we ſee continually at our grand Aſſizes and Seſſions in the Country, how ſeverely the Statute and fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome of *England* puniſh the one, and how ſleightly the Canonicall Lawes puniſh the other.

(16) Maritus & vxor vnum ſunt, vna caro & vna anima, ideóq; tenetur apud Iuriſconſultos, quòd maritus poteſt vxorem ſuam defendere, & defendendo, (ſi neceſſitas vrget) aggreſſorem occidere. *Ayraus* de Homicid. neceſſar: & caſuali.

Iuriſt: Sir, you muſt know, that the Lawes of God were as well (g) *Ceremoniall and Iudiciall as Morall*, and that as the Morall Lawes were to continue for ever, ſo the other Lawes were but Temporary and Arbitrary and might be abrogated. Now as the Lawes which prohibite the fact of Adultery were Morall and inchangeble, ſo the Lawes which provided puniſhments againſt the Tranſgreſſors were temporary. In the Commonwealth of the *Iewes* this ſinne began to ſpread it ſelfe and to grow notorious, and therefore neceſſary was it, that the Law ſhould ſhoot ſharpe and keene Arrowes at it. But the *Iewiſh* Common-wealth being long ſince aboliſht, the Lawes of God haue left the puniſhments to temporall Princes, or to their ſubordinate Magiſtrates and Miniſters to puniſh the ſame, as they in their diſcretion ſhall thinke fit. So that although in the *Iewiſh* Common-wealth, Adultery was thought worthy of death, yet in other Common-wealths in after ages, pecuniary and corporall puniſhment was thought to be a puniſhment equivalent to the nature of the offence, yet this kinde of puniſhment is not a puniſhment ſo ſleightly

(g) Ceremoniales & forenſes leges *Moſaicæ*, quæ tantùm *Iudæis* populo viq; ad *Chriſtum*, & ad certum tempus, donec manſura eſſet politia *Iudaica* conſtitutæ, cum ea politia magna ex parte extinctæ.

ſleightly to be eſteemed of as you would haue it: you may know, that *Cain* ſuffred more in his life than in his death; the Serpents, Toades, and Adders live, but they are continuall eye-ſores to the beholders; *Cain* would haue dyed, for that his torment was greater than he was well able to beare, but he could not, a marke was ſet vpon him, and a penall Law made which did inflict a puniſhment vpon any one that ſhould eaſe him of his torment; ſo that a man may liue and (h) *ſuffer more than if he had dyed* for the ſame offence: the good name and reputation of a man whileſt he walkes vpon the face of the earth is like the ſoule in the body the life of man. When it departs from him, he may well be ſaid to be a dead man; the Lawes Eccleſiaſticall dõe puniſh theſe offenders by this kinde of death, by taking away their reputations from them, burying them alive in the face of the Congregation, with their winding-ſheets about them, diſplaying to the world in notorious Enſignes engraven in great Letters, what manner of perſons they are, to the intent that they that behold their puniſhmẽts may avoyde their offences, and that they may be an ignominy and ſcandall to all poſteritie. So that you may know, the puniſhment is parallell in ſome degree to the nature of the offence.

(h) Veteres Ægyptij ignominiam morte grauiorẽ eſſe putabant; ideoq; in bellis qui ordinem reliquiſſent, aut non pruiſſent ducibus, non morte plectebantur ſed maximâ ignominiâ.
Diod. Sic.

Non ego quos rapuit mors defleo, defleo vivos,
Quos vrunt longo fata futura metu.
Mart.

Ruſtic: You haue given me good ſatisfaction, I pray you goe on, and in the next place acquaint me what are the Lawes which are derived out of the next Law of the ſecond Table.

Iuriſp: I will therein ſatisfie you. And firſt I will ſhew you from whence *Furtum*, the word *Theft* hath its denomination; then how many (*) *kinds of theft* there are; then who are properly ſaid to be Theeves, and who improperly; then what the Lawes are which are hence derived, which puniſh delinquents of both kinds; and laſtly, what puniſhments thoſe Lawes inflict vpon delinquents and tranſgreſſors. You ſhall vnderſtand, that ſome

(*) Furti nomine benè intelligitur omnis illicita vſurpatio rei alienæ: non enim rapinam permiſit, qui furtum prohibuit, ſed furti nomine etiam et rapinã intelligi voluit.

ſome will haue the word (i) *Furtum* to take denomination *a furno*, from blacknes and darkenes, becauſe it is vſually committed cloſely and ſecretly, and the night is made the vale to cover their vnlawfull practiſes and deſignes; others *a fraude & ferendo, vel auferendo*, which I doe conceiue to be the moſt proper Etymologie of it, being that it doth more fully expreſſe the nature of it. Theft being nothing els but an vnlawfull taking away of that which belongs to another man, be it by force or fraude, or by any other vnlawfull meanes whatſoever. The divers kindes whereof are well diſtinguiſhed by *furtum magnum & parvum*, *Larcenie* and *petit Larcenie*. *Larcenie* being then ſaid to be committed *by the* (k) *Imperiall Lawes*, when the thing feloniouſly taken away, amounts to the value of 5.ſ. and by the *Lawes of* (l) *England*, when it amounts to the value of xij.d. *Petit Larcenie* when the thing ſtolne amounts not vnto thoſe values, the delinquents are diſtinguiſhed either by open and knowne, or ſecret theeves; open & knowne theeves are ſuch who make wrong and robbery their profeſſion, and thoſe are of divers kindes, either ſuch as make the high-wayes the places of their Commerce, and are commonly knowne by the name of high-way Theeves and Robbers; or ſuch as make the fields the places of their Commerce, whom the *Imperiall Lawes* terme (m) *Abigei* and *Drovers of Cattell*, who vſe or rather abuſe the driving trade, intereſſing themſelues in things which they never paid for; and vnto which they haue no manner of title but poſſeſſiō, as horſe-ſtealers, ſheep-ſtealers, and the like; or otherwiſe ſuch as deale more cloſely, making private houſes the places of their commerce, ſuch as are Burglarers, breakers of houſes, pick-lockes, and the like; and generally all ſuch as take any thing from any man to the values before-mentioned ſurreptitiouſly and feloniouſly; (*) *ſecret theeues* or enemies more dangerous than the former, are *Church-*

(i) *Spieg.*

(k) *Fulbeck.*

(l) *See the Stat. of Weſtm. 1. cap. 15. tit. De impriſe.*

(m) Abigei dicuntur qui pecudes ex agris alienis abducunt.

(*) Clandeſtini fures vilio-res et ſanè improbiores ſunt illis qui vi rapiunt: hi enim fraude agunt, illi autem vi, & ideò juxta ſententiam Ciceron: hi vulpeculis, illi leonibus aſſimilantur.
Petrarch.

robbers, Vsurers, Monopolizers, Encloſers, Engroſſers, Regrators, and *Foreſtallers,* corrupt and ill affected Iuſtices, Advocates, Atturneys, double-dealing Vnder-Sheriffes, and Mechanickes, which vſe fraud and deceit in the execution of their Trades and Occupations.

Ruſtic: Of theſe latter I haue often heard, but I never knew them to be enemies ſo dangerous before. I pray you therfore acquaint me how I may know them, that when I meete with them I may beware of them.

Iurid: Sir, to giue you ſatisfaction, I will acquaint you with ſome privie markes, & deliver vnto you ſome rude & impoliſht pictures of them, drawne out though not to the life, in that deformitie as they themſelues are, yet deformed enough, ſo that by looking vpon the dead you may know the living, and by knowing of them avoyde them. And firſt I will deliver vnto you the picture of the Church-robber. The Church-robber is a kinde of pioner that vndermines the Academies, and by his magicall ſpells and enchauntments pulls downe Churches and Steeples, yet never comes neere them; that roots out learning and Civilitie, and induceth Barbariſme into a Common-wealth, that with-holds the wages from the labourer, and takes away the (n) *lines of many, yet offers no violence to the perſons of any.* Reward is the life of vertue, and the nurſe and nouriſher of liberall Arts and Sciences: *it is* (*) *honour which leades the Soldier into the field, profit and commoditie that makes the freeman put vpon him the habit of ſervilitie*; it is that againe that makes the (*) *Marchant* and *Mariner* to thinke the troubleſome and tempeſtuous Seas to be delightfull vnto him; and the long and tedious voyage to the *Indies* to be ſhort and momentary; it is preferment that makes the Father ſtraine himſelfe to trayne vp his ſonne at the Academie, and the ſonne againe to ſpend many a weariſome houre in muſing and meditating. The ready way therefore to diſanimate the Souldi-

(n) Panis pauperum eſt vita eorum. *Prov. 6.*

(*) Patrimonium noſtrum apud Iuriſconſultos, ſecundus hominis ſanguis dicitur, & vitæ æquiparatur.

(*) Eò impenditur labor & periculum vnde emolumentum atq; honor ſperatur; nihilq; non aggreſſuri ſunt homines, ſi magnis conatibus magna præmia proponantur. *Liv:*

Ea reſpub: tyrannidem ſapit quæ fortes & ſapientes minimè honorat: *Ariſtot.*

(*) Impiger extremos curris mercator ad *Indos.*

Sublatis ſtudiorum præmijs, etiam ſtudia pereunt. *Tacit: lib. 11, Annal. cap. 2.* in fine.

At vbi ſpiritum eſanguinem ſub principe recipiunt, ad ſcribendum ſui temporis hiſtoriam nunquã deerunt decora ingenia. *Lipſ: lib. 2. polit.*

er from the field, to expell & baniſh the Tradeſman and Artificer from the Citie, *to pull downe Colledges, Churches, Academies,* is to make an abſolute ſeparation and divorce betweene induſtrie and reward; and to damme vp the way betweene learning and preferment. This *Iulian* the *Apoſtata*, the great Church-robber, and Arch-enemy to God and all goodneſſe put in execution; he fell not vpon the Prieſts and ſlew them, for he knew the next age would produce more; but vnder pretence to ſet them in a readie way to heaven, he fell vpon the Prieſthood, and tooke away all the rents and revenewes of the Church, making vſe of the words of the Evangeliſt to ſerve his turne, (o) *Bleſſed are the poore, for theirs is the Kingdome of Heaven.* And this (p) *Dionyſius* of *Syracuſa* put in execution, who at ſeverall times diſrobed the Temples of their faireſt ornaments, at one time taking a golden beard from the picture of *Æſculapius*, for this cauſe, becauſe his Father had none, ſaying it would be an vnſeemely thing that *Æſculapius* ſhould haue a beard and *Apollo* haue none. Another time taking a golden habit from (q) *Iupiter Olympius*, vpon pretence that it was too heavie for Summer, and too cold for Winter, and that a habit made of Wooll would better fit both ſeaſons. And this a (*) *Biſhop* of *Wincheſter* put in execution, when in a ſmall dearth he tooke from the Temples all their veſſels of gold and ſilver; ſaying, it was not fit that the ſenceleſſe Temples of God ſhould abound with riches, and the lively Temples of the holy Ghoſt ſhould live in want. And this doe all they put in executiõ that withhold the duties of the Church from the Church, and therefore may well be termed birds of a feather, & fellowes of that fraternitie whereof *Iulian* the *Apoſtata* was the head. The next in the Catalogue is *the* (*) *Vſurer*, who indeede is the beſt friend in the world at the firſt, but the worſt enemy at laſt: the readieſt to aſſiſt you in the beginning; and the nimbleſt

(o) Redditus Eccleſiæ ſuripuit ne poſſint alii docẽtes, & diſcentes, & virulentos jocos addidit ſe facere expeditiores ad regnum cæleſte, ſpoliatis facultatibus.
Hiſt. Tripartit.

(p) *Valer. Maxim. lib. 1. c. 1.*

(q) *Valer. Maxim. lib. 1. c. 1.*

(*) *Æthelwoldus.*

(*) *See the picture of this man lively ſet forth by* Naſh, *in his Booke entituled* Chriſts teares *over* Ieruſalem, *in which I finde that verified of him in the returne from* Pernaſſus;
His ſtyle was wittie, though he had ſome gall,
Something he might haue mended, ſo may all:
Yet this I ſay, that for a mother-wit,
Few men haue ever ſeene the like of it.

nimbleſt to aſſault you in the ending; the wearied Travailer in his bed, nor the ſeafaringman in the haven ſhall not finde ſo much contentment, as you ſhall doe in him vpon the firſt acquaintance; whatſoever he hath, if he like your living (liue how you liſt he cares not) he will devote vnto your ſervice, himſelfe, his purſe, and all that he hath ſhall be at your commaund, you cannot be ſo ready to demaund, as he will be to pleaſure you in your demaunds; and whatſoever he lendeth vnto you, you will rather thinke it given than lent, ſo ſlow ſhall you finde him to haſten that which is due vnto him home againe; but the buſh which for a time relieved the ſilly ſheepe againſt the ſtorme, will when he takes his leaue ſtrip him of his fleece: the Hoſte that whileome was ſo ſerviceable, will before he ſhake hands with you, preſent you with a reckoning as terrible as death; the man that was ſo forward to lend, ſo backward to call for what he had lent, will at the laſt make you (r) *pay both his forwardnes and backwardnes*; there ſhall not a weeke in the yeare nor a day in the weeke paſſe, but he will haue an account of it; for he accounts that day loſt, and cryes woe & alas at night, that brings no profit to him; by theſe few markes you may know him; and that you may haue a more perfect knowledge of him, you may be pleaſed to take notice that this is the man that ſets vp a Trade that robs the Common-wealth of thoſe mutuall offices of loue and familiaritie which ſhould be betweene man and man. The Evangeliſt gaue this in charge long agoe (t) *Mutuum date nihil inde ſperantes*, lend freely, looking for nothing againe. And it was a Cuſtome amongſt Chriſtians freely to relieue their brethren in their wants and neceſſities; but the Evangeliſts Charge is wholy neglected, and the Cuſtome in vſe among the auncient Chriſtians now quite and cleane aboliſht, by the bringing in of that old *Iewiſh* trade of Vſury. And now it is become a Cuſtome rather to lend to

(r) *Chryſoſtom*: Vocat vſuram Schema miſericordiæ, quaſi qui opem laturus, in foveam protrudit.

Hei mihi diem perdidi.

(t) *Luk. 6. verſ. 35.*

to a *Iew*, a *Turke*, or any man for profit and commoditie, than to a friend, yea, the neareſt of friends, though in want and neceſſitie. So that this greedie deſire of having hatch out of this *Iewiſh* trade, hath beene an eye-ſore in all ages of the world; and the wiſedome of all times hath ſhot ſharpe Arrowes at it, to baniſh it, eſpecially the *Iewiſh* part of it, as one of the greateſt enemies of humane ſocietie, yet haue allowed of it as the(17) *Stewes haue been allowed in many parts of the world*, where if they were not allowed common Whores, they would fall vpon honeſt women. For even thoſe very* *Lawes which doe allow of it by way of reſtraint*, and not otherwiſe doe condemne it as a thing odious and deteſtable both before God and man. The Statute of the third yeare of King *Henry* the ſeaventh beginneth thus; that all vnlawfull Cheviſances and Vſury be damned, and none to be vſed vpon paine of forfeiture of the value of the money ſo Cheviſed and lent, and ſo goeth on; the Statute of the thirty-ſeaventh yeare of King *Henry* the eight beginneth thus; where divers Acts of Parliaments haue beene made for the avoyding and puniſhing of Vſury, being a thing vnlawfull, &c. The Stat. of the fifth yeare of King *Edward* the ſixth is verbatim as followeth; where in the thirty-ſeaventh yeare of the late King *Henry* the eight, amongſt other Acts and Statutes then made, it was enacted by authority of Parliament, that no perſon or perſons at any time after the laſt day of *Ianuary* in the ſaid thirty-ſeaventh yeare, ſhould haue, receiue, accept, or take in lucre or gaines for the loane, forbearing or giving day of payment for any ſumme or ſummes of money for one whole yeare aboue the ſumme of ten pound in the hundred, and ſo after that rate and not aboue of: and for a more or leſſe ſumme, or for longer or ſhorter time, vpon the paines and forfeitures in the ſaid Act mentioned and contained, the which act was not meant or intended for the maintenance or allowance of vſury,

(17) Quis ignorat ſingulare certamen malum eſſe? quis ignorat cruciatus quibus homines torquétur malos eſſe? Quis ignorat meretrices in Ciuitate permitti malum eſſe? quis ignorat vſuram in repub: malum eſſe? quis deniq; ignorat omnia illa aliquando permittenda eſſe, vt majora vitentur mala? *Bernard.*

**The Statutes doe not ſay, it ſhall be lawfull for a man to take ten* per Centum, *but prohibite, that he ſhall take no more.*

as divers persons blinded with inordinate loue of themselues, haue and yet doe mistake the same; but rather was made and intended against all sorts and kindes of Vsury, as a thing vnlawfull, as by the title and preamble of the said Act it doth appeare. And yet nevertheless, the same was by the said Act permitted, for the avoyding of a more evill and inconvenience that before that time was vsed and exercised. But for as much as Vsury is by the word of God vtterly prohibited, as a (*) vice most odious and detestable, as in divers places of holy Scripture is evident to be seene; which thing by no godly teachings and perswasions can sinke into the hearts of divers greedie, vncharitable, and covetous persons of this Realme; nor yet by any terrible threatnings of Gods wrath and vengeance that justly hangeth over this Realme, for the great and open Vsury therein daily vsed and practised; they will not forsake their filthy gaine and lucre, vnlesse some temporall punishment be provided and ordeined in that behalfe. For reformation thereof be it enacted by authoritie of this present Parliament, that from the first day of *May*, which shall be in the yeare of our Lord God 1552. the said Act and Statute concerning onely vsury, lucre or gaine of or for the loane, forbearing or giving dayes of any summe or summes of money, be vtterly abrogated and repealed. And furthermore, be it enacted by the authoritie of this present Parliament, that from and after the first day of *May* next comming, no person or persons of what estate, degree, qualitie, or condition soever he or they be, by any corrupt, colourable, or deceitfull conveyance, sleight, or engine, or by any way or meane, shall lend, giue, set out, deliver or forbeare any summe or summes of money, to any person or persons, or to any Corporation or body politicke, to or for any manner of vsury, encrease, lucre, gaine, or interest to be had, received or hoped for, over and aboue the summe or summes

(*) Iure optimo (inquit *Arist.*) in hominū odia incurrit fœneratio, quoniam ipsa pecunia fructus ejus est; nec ad permutandas res, cujus causā comparata est refertur. *Aristot. lib. 1. polit. cap. 7.* See *Tacit. lib. 6. cap. 4.*

ſummes ſo lent, given, ſet out, delivered or forborne, vpon forfeiture of the value as well of the ſumme and ſummes ſo lent, given, ſet out, delivered or forborne; as alſo of the vſury, encreaſe, lucre, gaine or intereſt thereof, and alſo vpon paine of impriſonment of the body or bodies of every ſuch offender or offenders, and alſo to make fine and ranſome at the Kings will & pleaſure; the moity of which forfeiture of the ſaid value ſhall be to the King, & the other moity to the partie that will ſue for the ſame, in any of the Kings Courts of Record, by Action of debt, Bill, plaint, or information, wherein no wager of Law, eſſoigne, or protection ſhall be allowed or admitted. So much hath the Statute of 5. & 6. of King *Edward* the ſixth. The Statute of the thirteenth yeare of Queene *Elizabeth*, by which in ſome ſort it is allowed againe to avoyde farther inconveniences, hath in it this Clauſe; for as much as all Vſury being forbidden by the Law of God is ſinne, and deteſtable, &c. and by the ſame Statute, it is enacted that the Statute of thirtie-ſeaventh of King *Henry* the eight ſhall be moſt largely conſtrued for the ſuppreſſing of Vſury. By the auncient fundamentall Lawes of the Kingdome of *England*, it hath beene condemned as a thing moſt (t) *odious and deteſtable*. In the time of (u) *Edward the Confeſſor*, there was ſpeciall proviſion made that *no vſurer ſhould remaine within the Confines of the Kingdome*; and if any man had beene Convicted thereof, he was to forfeite all his ſubſtance, and to be reputed as an Outlaw. In the time of King *Henry* the ſecond, they were denyed Chriſtian buriall: in the Court of *Fraunce*, it was the common and ordinary Table-talke, as *Edward the Confeſſor* obſerved, during that time that he made his abode there, *Quod* (*) *vſura radix omnium malorum eſſet*, that there was no evill in that Court that had not that for a beginning. So odious hath this beene eſteemed in theſe parts of the world; neither hath it beene diſtaſtfull onely

(t) *By the old Law of* England, *all the moveable goods of an Vſurer after his death were to be ſeiſed to the vſe of the King, though he made a will, if a Iury found that he lived and dyed in that ſinne; and for that cauſe his heire was to be diſinherited, and his lands to eſcheate.*

Glanvil. lib. 7. cap. 16.

(u) Vſurarios invidebat Rex *Edw*: & principiebat ne remaneret aliquis in toto regno ſuo; & ſi quis inde convictus eſſet quòd fœnus exigeret, omnis ſubſtantiâ propriâ careret, & poſteà pro exlege haberetur.

Vide inter leges Edw: in priſcis Anglorũ legibus per Lambertũ *edit. fol.* 140. b.

(*) Vide *Lambert: ibid.*

onely to theſe parts, but *Aſia* and *Africa* in generall haue deteſted and abhorred it. *Lucullus* after that he had Conquered *Aſia*, ſtudying how to winne the people vnto him, could not thinke of a better meanes then to ſet them *free from* (w) *Vſury*. And *Cato* having devoted himſelfe to doe good vnto *Sicilia*, made this Law, deſirous to free it from vnneceſſary members, that no Vſurer ſhould dwell within the Confines of it. *Licurgus* did ſo much abhorre it, that he made a Law, that in *Sparta* it ſhould not be ſo much as named. *Boccoris* in *Ægypt* made a Law, to baniſh it abſolutely, which *Solon* brought into *Athens*, and called it (x) *Syſacthia*, which was put in execution by *Agis* in the Market place, where he cauſed all the writing-Tables of the money-mongers to be burned, which when *Ageſilaus* comming by by chance ſaw, ſaid that in all his travailes in *Ægypt*, *Perſia*, or *Greece*, he never ſaw a better fire, or a fire that gaue him ſuch contentment. The reverend Fathers of the Church haue made an enquirie, and examined thoſe kinde of people vpon Interrogatories, why they ſhould perſiſt in their *Iewiſh* and vnchriſtian courſe of life, and they can giue no other Anſwere than what Theeves, Robbers, and Strumpets doe for the maintenance and vpholding of their profeſſions, (y) *non habeo aliud vnde vivam*, they would not doe it if they could tell how to live without it: they are aptly ranked together by the Fathers, and I will not goe about to ſever them; but if any preheminence be to be given vnto thoſe *qui notantur infamia*, I deſire that he may haue it to whom it doth belong; for as to kill a man is a greater offence than to rob or ſteale; ſo *the fault of the one is* (z) *greater than the other*; *Fœnerari autem quid eſt, niſi hominem occidere?* as ſaith *Cato* in the (*) Oratour. *Oreſtes* after that he had killed his mother, pleaded that he did it becauſe that ſhe had before killed his Father; and this was held a good plea to extenuate his offence, and to excuſe him

à tanto,

(w) *Plutarch in Lucullo.*

(x) *Ægyptij & Athenienſes inſtituêre legem Syſacthiam, ne ob fœnus corpora adiudicari poſſint.*
Alexand ab Alexand.
Plutarch in Solone.
Diod. Sic. lib. 1. rerum antiq: cap. 2. Nam iniquum putabant, milites, qui pro patriæ ſalute pericula ſubirent in carcerem pro fœnore duci.
Plutarch: in Agid: & Cleom:

(y) Eleganter redarguit fœneratores *Auguſt*: audent fœneratores dicere non habeo vnde vivam: hoc mihi latro diceret deprehenſus in fauce; hoc & effractor diceret, deprehenſus circa parietem; hoc & lena diceret, emens puellas ad proſtitutionem. *Auguſt.*

(z) Majores noſtri (inquit *Cato*) ſic habuerunt, & ita in legibus poſuerunt furem dupli cõdemnari, fœneratorem quadrupli: quantò pejorem Civem exiſtimârunt fœneratorem quàm furem, hinc licet exiſtimari. *Cato de re ruſtica.*

(*) *Cicero lib. 2. Offic: Prope finem.*

à tanto, but not *à toto*. But can our delinquent plead any ſuch plea? No; he hath taken away the lives of many, that were never guiltie of any ſuch crying ſinne It was a prettie paſſage which happened betweene the Skinner and the Vſurer; theſe two meeting on the way, the poore Skinner humbly ſaluted the proud Vſurer, and deſired further acquaintance of him, as being brothers of a fraternitie, and birds of a feather: the Vſurer diſdainfully beholding him, would needs know how it ſhould come to paſſe, that there ſhould be ſuch an affinitie betweene them two. Marry (quoth he) if with patience you will heare me, I will tell you, and will not goe ſo farre to deriue my pedigree, *as the* (a) *Plebeian did that would be the kinſman of Philip of Macedone.* Wee deale both in skins. You deale in the skins of reaſonable men, and flay them whileſt they liue, and I deale in the skins of brute beaſts and ſtay vntill they be dead; and this is all the difference betweene vs. It hath beene a ſaying of old, that *it is better to fall into the Company of* (b) *Crowes than flatterers*; becauſe that Crowes feede not but vpon dead Carkaſſes, but Flatterers vpon living men. It may as truely be verified of Vſurers; for if there be any Canniballs in our Horizon, theſe are they. The *Turkes* hold, that in the Reſurrection all men ſhall riſe againe with different faces: that ſome ſhall appeare with faces as cleare as the Sunne; others with faces as cleare as the Moone; others as the Starres: ſome againe with faces as blacke as darkneſſe it ſelfe; others with ſwolne tongues; others with Hogs faces; that they which attained to any perfection of goodneſſe whileſt they walked vpon the face of the earth, ſhall appeare as glorious as the Sunne; that others that lived vertuouſly, but attained not to that meaſure of perfection, ſhall appeare like vnto the Moone and Starres; that thoſe that lived viciouſly and lewdly, ſhall appeare with faces as blacke as darkeneſſe it ſelfe; that they which gaue themſelues over to lying, ſwearing,

Swinbourne *in his Booke of Wills, will not honour them ſo much as to ranke them with theeues, but ioynes them with* Sodomites; *neither* Vſurer *nor* Sodomite (*ſayth he*) *haue power to make a Will, nor to receiue any benefit by a Will.*
Swinb 5. part. 11. Chap.

(a) Quidam petijt Eleemoſynam à *Philippo* rege Macedonum, quia cognatus erat, vt vnus filiorum de *Adam*: cui rex reſpondit; ſi omnibus qui mihi ſic attinent, pecuniam darem, nihil penitùs retinerem.

(b) Adulatores ſunt ſorices & tineæ palati, qui nocte diéq; arrodunt, corrodunt, & devorant: de quibus valdè prudenter *Antiſthenes* olim monuit: ſi neceſſitas vrget, præſtat in corvos quàm adulatores incidere; illi enim mortuos, hi viventes devorare ſolent. *Huttenus.*

ring, and blasphemy, shall appeare with swolne tongues, but as for Vsurers, that they shall haue no resemblance of the faces of men, but shall appeare with faces like vnto hogs and swine. Nay, they goe further, they hold that *they which liue vpon* (c) *Vsury, shall not rise againe, otherwise then with the Deuils*, as appeares amongst their Tenets in their Alcaron. Where this Caveat is given, *Yee which are good feare God, and eschew Vsury, least the anger of God and the Prophet assoile you.* There are many prettie tales whorded vp in History of these kinde of people. And amongst those many I finde this, that vpon a certaine time a Priest being willing to grant absolution to as many as desired it, wished them according to their severall mysteries to stand vp as he called them, and as they were absolved so to depart, and first he began and called vpon the *Fabros*, who stood vp and were absolved and departed; then vpon the *Pannifices*, who did likewise and departed; then vpon the *Carpentarios*, *Ferrarios*, and *Macellarios*, who all stood vp and were absolved and departed: at last, he calls vpon *Vsurarios*, who being ashamed of their profession, sate still and would not rise. Whereupon he demanded, *Qualiter apparebunt in die judicij ad recipiendam æternam maledictionem, qui coram hominibus non audent surgere ad benedictionem?* how will they appeare in the last day before God to receiue a malediction, that dare not shew themselues before men to receiue a benediction?

(c) De fœnore viventes non nisi quasi Dæmoniaci resurgent; cùm ipsi fœnerari quod Deus nefas, & illicitum statuit, licitis annectunt, dicentes, fœnus esse qualis est mercatura: boni itáq; viri deum timete, & fœnerari prætermittite, nisi iram & odium dei & prophetæ sustinebitis. *Alcoran Mahom: Azoar. 4.*

Rustic: Sir, you haue said enough, giue me leaue I pray you, to interrupt you a little. I haue heard of a man whose name was (d) *Philoxenus, a kinde of Epicure and belly-god*, that if at any time he had seene a dish at a Table that he liked aboue the rest, that he would haue taken some occasion in *Paropsides emungere*, to spit into the platter where the meate was: to the end, that others abstaining, he might more freely feede vpon it. And of *Philotas*, who being in loue with *Antigona*, in all companies

(d) *Philoxenum* inter gulæ proceres positis antiquitas, quòd convivijs adhibitis in paropsides emungeret, vt abstinentibus cæteris solus ille frueretur. Ajunt optâsse sibi collum gruis.

panies where he came, would most bitterly enveigh against her, to the end, that others absenting themselues, he might the more freely enjoy her: and of *a* (e) *Vsurer that dwelt at Millaine*, who in all companies where he came, would bitterly enveigh against Vsury, *vt prohibitis reliquis solus ipse fæneraretur*; that others forbearing, he might the more freely exercise the trade. But I hope better of you, that you were never bred vp at *Millaine* a Disciple vnder that Scholemaster.

Iurisp: If you will beleeue me Sir, I never was, neither doe I speake affectionately or maliciously; for as I never got any thing by it, nor intend ever to doe, so I never lost any thing by it, nor I hope ever shall doe; but because I finde it condemned by the law of God, by the law of Nature, by the Canonicall Lawes, by the Municipall Lawes of all Nations, yea, even by the lawes of the Heathens, therefore and for no other reason doe I condemne it, and adjudge it as a thing hatefull both before God and men.

Rustic: You haue given me good satisfaction. I pray you goe on to the next in your Catalogue.

Iurid: The next in the Catalogue is the Monopolizer, who is so deformed in every part, that if I should goe about to paynt out his deformitie, I feare I should purchase no more credit by it *then the Painters in Apelles time did by paynting out of Venus* (f) *beautie*. Yet I will adventure vpon him, and first vpon the fairest part of him, which is foule enough, his face is like the face of (g) *Vespasian, or the face which Diogenes spit vpon*, who comming into a house that was newly swept and garnished, was requested *vt salivam non eijceret*, that he would not spit but into some fowle corner of it. Who seeing the good man of the house passe by him, spit full in his face, and being reproved for it, answered χείρονα τοπὸν μὴ εὑρηκέναι, that in all the house he could not find a fouler place: and for the other parts of his body, they

(e) *Ænæas Sylvius.*

Vsura pugnat cum lege naturæ; contra naturam est (vt ait *Aristot.*) vt pecunia pariat pecuniam: pugnat cum lege dei, vt apparet in diversis locis sacræ scripturæ: pugnat cum legibus Canonicis: *Nicano* enim consilio damnata est omnis vsura: pugnat cum legibus municipalibus vniuscujúsq; provinciæ: pugnat cum bonis moribus. *Ethnici* (vt *Plutarch*: & alij scripserunt) totos libros de non fænerando. Approbata est autem solummodò causâ necessitatis, vt apparet in diversis statutis pro bono publico Anglorum constitutis.

(f) Apelles *painted out one part of* Venus *so to the life, that hee did disgrace all the Painters of his time.*

(g) Vespasian *looke as if he had been strayning for a stoole.*

Sueton: *in* Vespasian.

—Vultus gibbosus, et acer;
Nasus curvatus, & fædus;
auris acuta:
Et grandis cervix dependens
& macilenta;
Cæsaries & barba rigens
frons & gena pallens.

are proportioned like vnto the *Reeves* in the *English* Poet.

Chaucer.

The Reeve was a ſlender Cholerick man,
His (18) *beard was ſhaue as nie as ever he can;*
His haire was by his eares round yſhorne,
His top was docked like a Prieſt beforne;
Full long were his legges and eke full leane,
I like a ſtaffe, there was no calfe y ſeene.

(18) Eandem in abraſa hominis facie deformitatē poetæ ponunt, quæ ſylvarum eſt cum folia deciderunt; meritò igitur pleriq; philoſophi admodū clari barbam ſcripſere non ſolùm viris à natura ornamenti dignitatiſq; cauſa contributam, ſed etiam valetudinis, quòd ad ſui nutricationem ſupervacaneum humorem exigit.

And as for his qualities and condition, they are as deformed as is his outward feature and proportion; his thoughts are onely fixt vpon himſelfe, and cares not though all the trees of the Forreſt were taken with ſuch vntimely fruit, as (*) *Timon ſometimes vnnaturally deſired,* ſo that he may but enjoy the fruits of the Forreſt. That loues no man, neither is beloved of any. A common enemy, a generall grievance, a ſtumbling blocke, and blocke of offence to the Citizen, to the Countryman, to the people in generall. The Citizen complaines of him, that he takes away his living from him, which he hath purchaſed at a deare rate, with the expence of ſeaven yeares painfull labours. The Countryman complaines, that he hath enhaunſed the Commodities of the Citie, and that he findeth not that friendly and familiar entertainement there that he was vſed to doe; that in ſtead of Optatives, he is entertained with Imperatives, in ſtead of milde and gentle perſwaſions and intreaties, he is entertained with imperious Commaunds: and in ſtead of ſatisfactory Anſwers, with ſharpe reprehenſions; for if at any time he chance to make any enquiries how Commodities came to be ſo enhaunſed, he is preſently ſilenced, and muſt make no reply, becauſe (*) he knowes not whither els to goe. The people in generall complaine, that by reaſon of him, Trading is much decayed, for that the Citizen in a manner is compelled to forſake his habitation, and to betake himſelfe into

(*) Ferunt *Timonem* cùm vidiſſet hominem in arbore ſuſpenſum, optâſſe vt quotannis tali fructu omnes arbores exuberent; ideóq; non immeritò appellatus eſt μισανθρωπος.

(*) Monopolium eſt cum penes vnum aliquem tantùm vendendi poteſtas exiſtit; id fit, cùm vnus ſolus aliquod genus mercaturæ vniverſum emit, vt ſolus ſuo arbitrio vendat, & pretium ſtatuat.

Spieg.

into the Country: and the Country-man is diſcouraged to ſend his ſonne for education to the Citie. So that every man you meete withall, can tell you of this man. Yet there is one other marke, by which you may know him. He is alwayes talking of the common good, and pretends nothing more, whereas he intends nothing leſſe, for (h) *Thais* by her neighbours vpon the firſt ſight is diſcovered to be *Thais*, notwithſtanding all the glorious ornaments & outſides ſhe can put on. And the firſt hatchers of theſe new deuiſes, to be for the moſt part like Sea-faring men, who having ſuffered Shipwracke at Sea, are ready to catch hold of every maſt & planke, and pole of the ſhip, to helpe themſelues. The next in the Catalogue, are Encloſers, a kinde of greedie people, and ſomewhat allyed to the former, who rob the Kingdome, not of the meaneſt Commodities of it by exportation, but of the chiefeſt treaſure of it, the ableſt men by expulſion and depopulation, by taking their lands and liuings from them, and ſending them into the highwayes or forraine parts, to ſeeke their fortunes. The next are (*) *Foreſtallers, Regrators, and Ingroſſers,* who out of a couetous deſire of having, will not ſuffer the Commodities of the Country to come vnto the Citie: or if they can be content to ſuffer them to come vnto the common Market, yet there they will meete with them, and ſo firſt or laſt will make their private Granaries the publike Markets, whither every man muſt come and pray and pay before he can haue it. The next in the Catalogue, are corrupt and ill-affected Iuſtices, ſuch as (i) *Iethro wiſht Moſes* to be ware of, men addicted to greedie Couetouſneſſe, that make too much vſe of their hands in the execution of their places, which *Apelles* neuer thought of when he pictured them without hands, as he did Iuſtice without eyes. And theſe are of divers kindes: either ſuch as aſpire to places of authoritie, not ſo much to execute the Law according to Iuſtice, as for

(h) Omnia cum fecit, *Thaida Thais* olet.

(*) *The Conditions of theſe kinde of people are well ſet forth in the Stat. of* 5. Edw. 6. *Cap.* 12. *Foreſtall: Regrat. & Ingroſſ.*

(i) *Exod.* 18. *verſ.* 21.

their private ends, to pleasure their (k) *friends*. Which *Publius Rutilius* reproved in his friend; who soliciting him in a businesse not befitting him to doe, gaue him a sharpe answere, which his friend taking to heart, told him that in after-times he would not care for such friendship: to whom *Rutilius* pithily replyed, nor he for such a friend as would moue him in a thing not beseeming him to doe, and which *Themistocles* reproved in *Simonides* the Poet, who soliciting him in an vnjust cause, told him that *Simonides* could never be good Poet, except he did obserue the Rules of Poetry, nor *Themistocles* good Prætor, if he should respect any mans person in the distribution of Iustice. And which *Bias* tooke speciall notice of, when he affirmed that in matters of Controversie, he had rather haue to doe with his enemies than his friends; for that of his friends he was sure to draw one of them to be his enemy, but of his enemies one of them to be his friend. Or such as stifle and smoother vp Causes in corners, which would be heard in publike, and in the view of the world. Which *Antigonus* reproved in his Brother *Marsias*, who having a suite depending, desired that it might not be scanned in publike, and in the view of the world: to whom *Antigonus* in some indignation answered; *if thy cause be not* (l) *just*, wherefore doest thou contend; if it be, wherefore doest thou flie into Corners, where it cannot want just cause of suspition: and which (m) *Philip of Macedone reproved in his friend Harpalus*, who soliciting him to haue *Craterus* discharged, paying a fine, without any further prosecution, answered wherefore are the Courts of Iustice instituted? I had rather that thy friend should (n) *suffer vnder the Law, then I in not executing of them*. Or such as are too affectionate, applying themselues to the hearing of the one partie onely, which (o) *Iulian the Apostata, though a Tyrant, reproved in one of his Councellors*; who being moued by him

(k) Nulla erit distantia personarum apud Iudicem: nam *Cyrus* apud *Xenoph.* dicitur plagas accepisse, quia ex arbitrio, non ex legum præscripto judicabat.

Lex néq; cognatum, nec amicum agnovit, at æquis Lancibus et magnũ ponderat et minimum.

Danda opera est magnis, sed non cũ vulnere mentis.

Danda opera est magnis, sed comitante metu.

Oportet amicis accommodare, sed vsq; ad aras.

Talis debet esse minister juris, vt in eius manu nullius authoritate personæ titubet, aut vacillet libra justitiæ.

Magni quidem *Alexand.* causa in Castrensi judicio a Cõmilitonibus eius, abiecto terrore damnata erat. Nominatissimus eloquẽtiæ doctor *Protagoras* in causâ quã habebat erga discipulum suum sententiã postulabat instanter; eius tamen petitio audita non erat, nec terror *Alexand.* nec authoritas *Protagoræ*, justitiæ lancem ab æquitate potuit declinare.

(l) Si injustam causam habere te scis, cur litigas? si iustam, cur fugis hominũ conscientiam, et ad domesticas latebras rem fore pertrahis? non caritura sinistra civium suspicione.

Plutarch. in Regũ Apophthegm.

(m) *Plutarch in Philippo.*

(n) Præstat vt ipse malè audiat quàm nos propter ipsũ. Non tibi quod liceat, sed quod fecisse decebit.

Occurrat, meritémq; domet respectus honesti. *Claud.*

(o) Imperator *Iulianus* quãvis tyrannus, neminem inauditũ damnare solebat. *Lonic.*

him to giue ſentence againſt one that had offended, anſwered that he would firſt heare what he could ſay for himſelfe: to whom the Councellor replyed, What guiltie man then will be condemned, if he may be permitted to make an excuſe? To whom *Iulian* againe; nay, rather what innocent may not be condemned, if ſentence be given before he be heard. Of which *Alexander* tooke ſpeciall notice, who vpon the hearing of any cauſe, laid one of his hands vpon one of his eares, and being asked the reaſon, anſwered, that he kept that (*) eare for the other partie. Or ſuch as are too careleſſe and negligent in the hearing of Cauſes, which is well reproved in (p) *Philip of Macedone by the appeale of Machetes*, who being tryed before him and condemned, appealed from his ſentence, which *Philip* taking very ill, would needs know to whom he would appeale, who anſwered *ad te ipſum ô Rex ſi expergiſcaris, & attentiùs audias cauſam*; to none other then to himſelfe, from *Philip* ſleeping, to *Philip* waking. And which is reproved in *Honorius* by his beloved Siſter. (*) *Honorius* being accuſtomed to put his hand vnto writings before he had peruſed them, which his Siſter perceiving, and obſerving many inconveniences to ariſe by reaſon thereof, and having a deſire to beate him from it; cauſed a Writing to be drawne, by which he ſhould promiſe her in marriage to a man of an ignoble condition, farre inferior vnto her in every degree, which the Lady having gotten into her hands, came vnto *Honorius* vpon her knees and deſired him that ſhee might haue the priviledge of the meaneſt ſubject within his Dominion, and that ſhee might not be enforced to marry ſuch a one as ſhe could neither like nor loue. Which when *Honorius* heard, he wondred at, and with many proteſtations affirmed, that he never dreamt of any ſuch thing. But when the Lady ſhewed him his hand-writing, he found it to be *pravam & parum tutam Conſuetudinem*, an ill Cuſtome, and reſol-

(*) Defenſori dandus audiendi locus. *Plutarch in Alexand.*

(p) *Plutarch in Philippo.*

(*) *Lonicerus.*

solved in after-times to be more carefull how he put his hand to any Writing before he perused it. The next in the Catalogue, are Councellors, Advocates, and Atturneys, who to gaine a Fee, or a blast of fame in the world, endevour as much as in them lye to seduce the Iudge that sits to decide Controversies, and to distribute Iustice to every one aright. The next are Tradesmen and Artificers, which vse false weights, lights or measures, of whom the (q) *Lawes of God and men haue taken speciall notice.* The next are double dealing vnder-Sheriffes, who by miscarrying of themselues in their places, haue brought the name of Vnder-Sheriffe into contempt, and haue made the name of Vicecomes as odious almost as was the name of *Vicarius* in *Martials* time. The name of Vicar was sometimes honorable, and none could execute that office but such as *ex mandato principis Diœcesin aliquam regebant.* But afterwards when Churches beganne to be impropriated by Prioresses and Nunnes, which *of* (*) *themselues could not say divine service,* nor administer the Sacraments, then it grew into contempt, for they regularly made choyce of such stipendary Priests to execute the Cures, whom they could haue best cheape, whom they called Vicars. By which meanes the name of Vicar grew to be more vile than the name of a servant, as we finde in the (*) Poet: *Esse sat est servum jam nolo Vicarius esse.* The name of Sheriffe, Viscount, Comes, and Procomes was ever honorable, amongst the *Germanes* (as *Tacitus* obserues) none were named *Comites* but such as were *principibus in Consilijs*; and amongst the *Romanes* the Councell of the Emperour were called *Cæsaris*(r) *Comitatus*, who were vsed in *secretis*, or in *remotis*. Those which were vsed in *secretis*, were much honored and had accesse to the Emperour at all times, and vpon all occasions: those which were vsed in more *remotis*, were honored likewise, though not in so high a degree as the other

(q) *Deut.* 25.

(*) Quibus in rebus ipsi interesse non possumus, in his vicaria fides supponitur. *Cicero.*

(*) *Martial.*

(r) Comitatus is dicitur locus, in quo vitam agit princeps, et *Palatini* omnes qui eunti *Imperatori*, *Cæsariq;* assistunt, dicuntur ejus Comitatus, & ipsi nunc Comites, nunc Comitatenses. *Spieg.*

ther were, as (ſ) *Comes domorum*, (t) *Comes horreorum*, (u) *Comes laborum*, (w) *Comes rerum priuatarum*, (x) *Comes ſacrarum largitionum*, (y) *Comes patrimonij*; all theſe were *Comites* and *Conſiliarij*, though in divers degrees. When the government of the *Romane* Empire began to ſpread it ſelfe into other parts of the world, then this title began to ſpread it ſelfe likewiſe. The *Saxons* vſed it, but not by the ſame name as the *Romanes* did; for thoſe which they called *Comites* and we *Earles* the *Saxons* called *Ealdermen*, and the *Danes*, *Earlas*, which was a title and dignitie not hereditary in this Kingdome, as now it is, but temporary and arbitrary, vntill the time of *William* the Conquerour, who was the firſt that made it hereditary; for he having ſubdued the Kingdome, the affaires of the State being not fully ſetled, he created divers Counts as Overſeers and Watchmen of certaine Counties; who becauſe they were much with the King had Viſcounts, who did execute the Kings Command in theſe Counties, ſo that the Office of (*) *Vicecomes* was even from the Conqueſt, though the hereditary dignitie of (z) *Viſcounts were not knowne vntill the time of King Henry the ſixth in theſe parts*, or vntill the dayes of King *Henry* the firſt and King *Stephen*. But not long after the very firſt Creation of their Office, did theſe *Vicecomites* and their ſubordinate Officers, breake forth into divers outrages, and began to pill and pole the people, in ſo much that (a) *Peter Bleſenſis*, who lived in the dayes of King *Henry* the ſecond, and was a Chauncelor of *Canterbury*, in an Epiſtle dedicated vnto him, thus inveighs againſt them. *Foreſtariorum ſiquidem ac Vicecomitum innumeri officiales, dum auaritiæ & Cupiditati ſuæ ſatisfacere ſtudent, deprædantur pauperes. Simplicibus inſidiantur, fouent impios, opprimunt innocentes, exultant in rebus peſſimis, lætantur cum malè fecerint, peccata populi Comedunt, luxuriantur in lachrymis, & in fame pupillorum, in pauperum nuditate, in afflictione ſimplicium. Sic panperes*

(ſ) *Comes domorum* erat ille, qui in domeſticos principis præfecturam habebat.

(t) *Comes* horreorum qui habuit mancipia quædam purgandis horreis aſcripta, coquendó; pani principis.

(u) *Comes* laborum, qui et præpoſitus laborum, cui mediaſtini omnes, alijq; domus Imperatoriæ artifices ſubditi erant.

(w) *Comes* rerum familiarium priuatarum, cui omnis res familiaris commiſſa eſt.

(x) *Comes* ſacrarum largitionum, per quem *Cæſaris* ſtipendia militibus erogarerunt.

(y) *Comes* ſacri patrimonij qui præerat patrimonio *Cæſaris*.

(*) *Vicecomes* (vt inquit *Fernæus*) eſt, cui Comes cõmittit vices ſuas, ſiue gubernationem Caſtri.

(z) *The firſt* Viſcount *that was in* England *was made in the time of King* Hen: *the* 6. *as ſaith Sir* Iohn Davis *in his reports. But Sir* Iohn Ferne *in his Booke entituled* The glory of Generoſitie, *affirmeth that* Eſcote Ville *was the firſt* Viſcount, *and that he had that honor conferred vpon him about the dayes of King* Hen: *the* 1. *and King* Stephen.

(a) *Pet: Bleſ: Epiſ.* 95.

vicecomitum, aut nemor altum judicum & aliorum Collateralium ſunt eſca & potus, ac publica depræda tionis occaſio. In this Epiſtle he ſhewes that the greateſt grievances in our Common-wealth, haue their originall from them, and their indirect proceedings. For that they regularly returne, and make choyce of ſuch to enquire of offences, as either for favour or commoditie, doe rather cover and colour, then diſcover and make knowne abuſes to the world. The King and Iudges he freely acquitteth; the King, becauſe it is impoſſible for him to vnderſtand of all abuſes that are committed: for if in a (b) *private familie* (ſayth he) *divers things happen which never come to the vnderſtanding of the Maiſter*, it is not to be imputed to any careleſnes in any Prince, if in a Kingdome which conſiſteth of many thouſand families, divers things happen which never come to his knowledg. The Iudges likewiſe he excuſeth, becauſe things are ſmoothered, and either for loue or affection, or conſanguinitie and affinitie, or for ſome other reſpect, they are never preſented, and ſo he layeth the whole blame vpon the *Foreſtarios & Vicecomites*. Such were the complaints againſt theſe kind of people in the dayes of King *Henry* the ſecond. Againe, in the time of King *Edward* the firſt, they were complained of in Parliament for their extortion, and oppreſſion. Whereupon there was (*) *a Law* made that no Sheriffe ſhould take any thing to doe his office of any other then the King, vpon paine to forfeit double as much as he ſhould take, and to endure impriſonment at the Kings will and pleaſure. In the dayes of King *Edward* the third they were complained of againe, for that they would not receiue any priſoners without fees paid vnto them: whereupon there was (*) *a Law* made, that no Sheriffe or Gaoler ſhould take any thing for receiving of felons. In the dayes of King *Henry* the fourth, they were complained of againe for their extortion. Whereupon there was (*) *a Law* made,

(b) Cùm multa fiunt in domibus quæ dominorum notitiæ ſubducantur, non eſt veſtræ negligentiæ aut incuriæ aſcribendum; ſi in tam ſpecioſis & diffuſis regionibus, quibus dominus vos præfecit, ſingulorũ exceſſus non noviſtis ad plenum; ipſos autem Iuſticiarios quos vulgariter itinerantes dicimus, dum errata hominum diligenter explorant, frequẽter errare contingit: exceſſus namq; hominum abſcondũtur, aut amore, aut timore, aut lege cõſanguinitatis, aut occultis muneribus redimũtur. *Pet. Bleſ: ibid.*

(*) *Weſtm 1. Cap. 26.*

(*) *Stat. de An. 4to. Edw. 3. Cap. 10.*

(*) *Anno 1. Hen: 4.*

made, that if a Sheriffe did any extortion, he ſhould be puniſhed at the Kings pleaſure. In the dayes of King *Henry* the ſixt, they were complained of againe, for the extorting of exceſſiue fees, for the making of Arreſts. Whereupon there was (*) *a Law* made which did limit and determine what fees they ſhould take. That the Sheriffe ſhould haue x x. d. the Bailie that made the Arreſt iiij. d. and the Gaoler iiij d. In the dayes of King *Henry* the ſeventh, they were complained of againe, for that they did often enter plaints in other mens names, and cauſed Amerciaments to be made for not appearance, whereas the parties amercied were never ſummoned, and by that meanes made pillage of the people. Whereupon there was (*) *a Law* made, that no plaint ſhould be entred, vnleſſe the partie to whom the debt was due, was then preſent at the time of the entry thereof. Againe, in the dayes of Queene *Elizabeth*, they were complained of againe for their taking of exceſſiue fees vpon the ſerving of Writs of Execution. Whereupon there was (*) *a Law* made, which doth ſet downe what they ſhould take, and no more, *viz.* if that the debt did not amount vnto aboue the ſumme of 100. li. they ſhould take for every x x s. xij. d. and if it did amount vnto aboue the ſaid ſumme of 100. li. then for every xx. s. over and aboue the ſaid ſumme of 100. li. vi. d. ſo that this abuſe of that honorable title of Count & Viſcount, is no innovation or new thing, but hath beene growing of old, and now it is come to that growth of ſcandall and ignominie, *vt probrum penè ſit eſſe probum*, that it is a kinde of diſparagement for a man to be honeſt in the execution of the office, or at leaſt for an honeſt man to take a deputation of it. It being a Proverbe or by-word rather, to be twice or thrice an Vnderſheriffe, is to be a diſhoneſt man ever after. It is regularly an honor wee know for any man to vndergoe any office of command and authoritie, and the more often he doth it, the more

(*) *An.* 23. Hen. 6. *Cap.* 10.

(*) 11. Hen. 7. *Cap.* 15.

(*) *An.* 29. *Eliz. Cap.* 4.

honor it is ſtill vnto him. But in the execution of this place it is not, and why? becauſe by abuſe it is become ignominious, and contemptible. It is worthy our paines therefore to enquire where the fault is. Is it in the Vicecomes? I wiſh I could ſay no, but I cannot; for he doth depute ſuch ſubordinate Miniſters and Officers vnder him, as doe pill and pole the people. If a Biſhop be never ſo hoſpitious, charitable, and religious himſelfe, yet if his (19) *Stewards, Bayliffs*, and other his Agents doe racke and pole his Tenants, it is all one to the Tenants as if the Biſhop himſelfe did it. If a Iudge ſhall be never ſo juſt, vpright, and free from corruption, yet if his ſervants and attendants ſhall exact and extort from the ſubject, it is all one to the ſubject as if the Iudge himſelfe had done it. If an Officer be never ſo regular and confine himſelfe to take no other fees, than are allowed by the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, yet if his ſubordinate Clarks ſhall prey vpon and exact of the Client, it is all one to the Client, if the Officer himſelfe had done it. If a Sheriffe be never ſo juſt, and his intentions never ſo good, yet if he commit the deputation of his Office to ſuch as prey vpon the Common-wealth, it is all one to the Common-wealth if the Sheriffe himſelfe did it: therefore it behooveth men in authoritie to haue a ſpeciall eye and regard whom they doe vſe in the managing of their affaires; for that the Law will tell them, what they doe by another in caſe of deputation, they doe it by themſelues.

(19) Nulla regis æquitate, vel prudentia, vel labore ſalva poſſit eſſe reſpub: niſi etiã magiſtratus inferiores ſuum faciunt officium; nam fruſtrà eſt omnium judicum induſtria, ſi ſuũ *Ironarche* ſubtrahunt auxilium. Vt ait Iac. nuper Rex in oratione 5ta.

Ruſtic: Sir, you haue ſufficiently painted out theſe kinde of people: if there be any more of the ſame fraternity, I pray you let me know them, that I may avoyd them.

Iurid: I haue named vnto you all the principalls alreadie, yet Acceſſaries there are of both kinds, both Acceſſaries before, and Acceſſaries after the deed done.

Ruſtic: And who are they?

Iurid:

Iurid: Accessaries before the fact done, are *Parents*, who traine vp their children in idlenesse, the broad way to destruction; who are well set forth in the Apologue, in the(*) *sonne vpon the Gibbet, & the indulgent Mother*, the sonne vpon the gallowes espying his mother among the multitude, called vnto her, pretending to haue somewhat to say vnto her: whom his sorrowfull mother readily obserued & came vnto him, and whilest she listned to heare what he would say vnto her, the sonne espying his opportunitie, in stead of his tongue vsed his teeth, and bit off her nose, and in scorne cast the same amongst the multitude, with this *Anathema*, *Such reward haue all such indulgent Parents as traine vp their children to such preferment as he was come vnto.* Accessaries after the fact, are such as stop the Course of Iustice, interceding for such as deservedly ought to vndergoe the Censure of the Law. Who are well set forth in the Citizens of (c) *Brandenberg*; the Citizens of *Brandenberg* seeing a young man of a comely personage and countenance, that promised much, condemned for a light offence; they all with one vnanimous consent, made intercession for his pardon, which being graunted, and the Theife set at libertie; not long after in requitall thereof, he returned to their Citie and burnt it, and being asked, how he could be so barbarously ingratefull, to take away the liuelihood of them, that had been the meanes to saue his life, gaue them this answere in effect, that they deserue no liuelihood, that depriue the Law of life, which is the due execution of it.

Rustic: I am glad to heare you ranke Monopolizers, Encloſers, Regrators, Engrosers, and Forestallers among the enemies of the Common-wealth; for in many places I heare they passe for good husbands, wise and prouident men, and are called vnto places of command and authoritie.

Iurid: Truely in our Coasts we esteeme of them in

(*) Peccantem puerum quisquis non corrigit, odit.
Non inutile consiliũ poëtæ;
Qui lætam læta natorum sorte senectam
Optatis patres, duris nec parcite dictis;
Virtutem exemplo, mixtóq; docete pudore.
Non secus ac pullos plausis circumvolat alis
Rex avium.
Fathers if you desire your children sage,
Should by their blessings blesse your crooked age;
Trayne them betimes vnto true vertues lore,
By awe, instruction, and example more.
So the old Eagle flitters in and out,
To teach his young-ones to follow him about.

(c) *Lonicerus ex Mart. Luther.*
Oinguez villain il vous poindra:
Poinguez villain et il vous oindra.
Annoint a knaue and he will annoy you:
But gall a knaue and he will annoint you.
These sort of men are aptly compared to Nettles; if you handle them gently they will sting you, but if you presse them they will never hurt you. And as a child prettily once told his Father, that there was a thing grew in the garden, that was worse then a dog, meaning a Nettle, because that a dog will never bite any of his owne house: so we say of these people, because they bite very oftentimes their best friends.

the body politicke, no otherwiſe than we doe of boyles & vlcers in the naturall body, and will allow vnto them no other place to dwell in, than that Citie which *Philip* of *Macedone* built for the excrements of his Kingdome, and called it by the name of (20) *Poneropolis Civitas Nebulonum*, yet I muſt confeſſe, they thruſt themſelues ſometimes into places of authoritie and command, and gird themſelues about with (21) *Chaines of gold*. But the multitude repine at it, for they thinke they better deſerue it that lye bound in chaines of yron; for as to rob and ſteale from many is a greater offence, than to ſteale from a few, ſo the fault of the one is greater than the other.

(20) *Plutarch. in Philipp: Maced.*

(21) Fures priuatorum furtorum in nervo atq; in compedibus ætatem agunt, fures publici in auro atq; purpura. *Aulus Gell: lib. 11 cap. 18.*

Ruſtic: I pray you goe on, and ſhew me what are the Lawes that puniſh the delinquents in both kindes.

Iurid: I will therein ſatisfie you. And firſt what are Lawes which doe puniſh theeues properly ſo called: the Lawes which do puniſh theeues properly ſo called, are comprehended vnder thoſe titles, *De rerum diviſione, de acquirendo rerum dominio, de rerum vindicatione, de furtis, peculatu, & ſacrilegijs, &c.* all which are made to maintaine and vphold that part of Iuſtice which the Iuſticiaries haue named *Commutative Iuſtice*, that puniſh wrong & robbery, and root out the fraternitie of them that live vpō the ſpoyle by other mens labours, ſuch as were in the dayes of King *Richard* the firſt, *Robbin Hood* and *Little Iohn*.

Ruſtic: What are the puniſhments which the Lawes haue provided for ſuch malefactors?

Iurid: By the Imperiall Lawes whoſoever taketh away any thing from any man aboue the value of v. s. is to ſuffer death for the ſame. If vnder that value, for the firſt offence he is to be branded with the ignominious name of Theft; and if he be a freeman, he is to be baniſht for a certaine time. If of a ſervile condition, he is to vndergoe the puniſhment which Commanders vſe

to

to inflict vpon ſuch ſouldiers as forſake their Colours; and is called ([d]) *Fuſtuarium*, baſtinadoing: for the ſecond offence he is to be branded with the ignominious name of an old Theife, and to looſe one of his eares. For the third offence, he is to be branded with the name of a notorious old Theife, and to ſuffer death as in caſe he had taken away the value of v.s. By the Lawes of the Kingdome of *England*, whoſoever taketh away any thing from any man to aboue the value of xij. d. his life may be queſtioned for the ſame; if vnder that value, then to be ſtockt and whipt.

Ruſtic: Sir, in my opinion, the Lawes of *England* doe very much vnder-value the life of man.

Iurid: No certainly; for no puniſhment can be great enough for ſuch, who having eyes, and hands, and legs, and limmes, and are able to purchaſe a livelihood to themſelues, even in the moſt barren parts of the world, will yet notwithſtanding roue vp and downe, beg and ſteale, and expoſe themſelues rather to an ignominious death for a trifle at home, then vndergoe any labour, or adventure themſelues in the face of their enemies abroad, where honour is to be found, giving occaſion thereby to our neighbouring friends beyond the Seas, to condemne our Lawes, and to magnifie their owne. For that in all their Coaſts there are not ſuch mendicant vagrant perſons to be ſeene. The Lawes of ([e]) *Draco* did puniſh him in an equall degree, that had ſtolne but an Apple, with him that had ſtolne an Oxe. Yet the Lawgivers did not alwayes giue full reynes to thoſe Lawes, but ſet them in a Table, as they did the Dragon aboue the Iudiciall ſeate, to the terror of the beholder. The ([f]) *Lawes of the Athenians* likewiſe did puniſh idle perſons in an equall degree with theeues and robbers; amongſt whom, if the mendicant Scholler had ſet vp his trade, their Lawes would quickly haue found him out. It was a pretty paſſage which happened vpon a time,

([d]) Fuſtuarium meretur qui ſigna reliquit, aut præſidio decedit.
Lipſ: lib. 5. ſolit.
This puniſhment did Tiberius Nero *cauſe to be inflicted vpon one, who having authoritie to cleare the paſſage, did not doe it.*
Sueton: in Tiber: Iler.
Pro primo peccato fur, pro ſecundo fur conſuetus, pro tertio fur famoſus appellatus.
Fulbeck.

([e]) *Plutarch in Solone.*
([f]) Alexand: ab Alexand: *lib. 6. cap. 10.*
Eadem ſeveritas inter *Romanos*; nam lex 12. tabularum adeò furto adverſata eſt, vt furem manifeſtum in ſeruitutem tradat illi, cui furto quidquam ſubſtractum foret; & ſi nocte furtum factum ſit, ſi aliquis occidit, jure cæſus eſt. Totum hoc commemorat *Aulus Gell: lib 11. cap. 18.* Vbi probat Decemviros non tam gravi ſeveritate vſos fuiſſe in puniẽdo fures, vt *Draco* qui furtũ omne morte punire veller; neq; tantâ lenitate, vt *Solon*, qui ſublato morgis ſupplicio dupli tantũ pœnam furibus indixit, ſed mediam quandam rationem puniendi delegiſſe.

a time, betweene a Scholler and a Farmar; A Scholler comming to a Farmars houſe for an Almes, the Farmar ſeeing him to be young and luſty, and well able to take paines for a living, fell foule vpon him, and plainly told him, that he was (22) *an idle knaue*, and bid him be gone and worke for his living as he did: which the Scholler taking very diſdainefully, anſwered him thus, *Non te pudet (ſordide agreſtis) Bacchalaureum ſeptenarum liberalium artium temerario ore lacerare*, are you not aſhamed, you Country Clowne, to revile a Bachelour of ſeaven Arts with ſuch opprobrious termes? To whom the Farmar againe replyed; of what Arts, Sir, are you a Bachelor? Of none other I beleeue then of the drinking art, of the whoring art, of the theeving art, of the cheating and coſening art, of the lying and ſwearing art, of the begging art, and of the reviling and backbiting art. *Ego arte vnica Agricultura & vxorem & multos alo liberos, & tu, qui ſeptem jactas artes, turpiter mendicas*; I haue but one art, and with that one I maintaine my family, my wife and children; and you with your ſeaven Arts are not aſhamed baſely to beg of me that haue but one. *Abi impoſtor*, and take it for a warning, that if I catch you here againe, I will make you know that wee haue Lawes will puniſh ſuch Bachelors of ſeaven Arts, whom we call ſturdy rogues & mendicant vagabonds. If this man (I ſay,) had ſet vp his trade in *Athens*, it had beene death vnto him. So ſtrict were the Lawes of the *Athenians* againſt idle perſons, though they tooke nothing away. The (*) *Lawes of England*, I muſt confeſſe, in the ſtrict executiõ of them doe puniſh a ſmall offence ſometimes with death: yet thoſe Lawes doe receiue diuers mitigations. Firſt, it is in the boſome of the Iurors to mitigate the ſame; for tryals of Criminall cauſes being regularly by the oaths of 12. honeſt and able men. Thoſe honeſt men in their wiſedomes and diſcretions, if the value of the thing taken and ſtolne away, doe not plainely

(22) Multis authoribus docemur non tam paupertati condolere, quàm mendicitatem deteſtari; nam publicè mendicare, & circumire ciuitates, ſemper vbiq; gentium ab initio prohibitum fuit: In lege Romana arctè ſtatuit Iuſtinianus Imperator, vt ſi quis laborare potẽs eleemoſynis ſe immiſceat, captiuandus ſit, & in ſeruitutem redigendus; ipſa autem Canonica Pontificũ decreta ſolis illis pauperibus erogandas eleemoſynas ſtatuerunt, qui laborare non poſſunt, quoſcũq; mendicantes inter latrones & prædones numerantia. Ipſe autem ordo mẽdicantium apud Cornel: Agripp: generaliter damnatus eſt; illi enim veluti dijs ſacri & ab omnibus inoffenſi, votorum & peregrinationum prætextu prouincias obambulantes, laborem ex induſtria fugiẽtes, otioſa paupertate oſtiatim mendicantes, ciuitatum explorant ſecreta, & ad omnem perditionum genus ſeſe accõmodant; ita deniq; viuunt, vt ne cum Regibus vitam commutare velint; modo ijs liberũ ſit quolibet vagari, quodcũq; collibitum ſit facere, vbiq; tuti ab exactionibus & publicis oneribus, & immunes fraudes, impoſturas & furta exercere; vnde non minima naſcitur reipub: pernicies.

Cornel. Agripp.

(*) Adverſum errones (vt inquit *Iac:* nuper Rex in oratione 52) legem habemus ab *Edw:* 6to latã; cujus regis prudentia magis hic enituit in incunte ætate, quàm aliorum in adulta.

plainely appeare vnto them, doe often value the thing though it be of treble the value of xij.d. to be vnder the value, then the wiſedome of the Kingdome by ſeverall Acts of Parliament haue ſpecially provided, that if the felony be not aggravated with ſome circumſtances odious in the eye of the Law, the offender is admitted to his Clergie, and ſo vndergoing ſome light puniſhment, ſuch as the Lawes in ſuch caſes haue provided, the offender is to eſcape without any other puniſhment.

Ruſtic: Sir, by the Law of God, a quadruple reſtitution was held a good ſatisfaction, how commeth it to paſſe then, I pray you, that the puniſhment ſhould now be ſo grievous, and ſo much differing from the penaltie appointed by the Law of God?

Iurid: In the time of the *Iewiſh* Common-wealth, the *Iubile* was ſolemniſed every fiftieth yeare; but in the Common-wealth of the *Romanes*, it was changed from fiftieth to a hundred, from a hundred to fiftie againe; from fiftie to twentie-fiue; one of the Popes being demanded the reaſon why in the ſolemnization of the *Iubile*, the *Romane* Common-wealth did ſo much differ from the *Iewiſh*, gaue them this Anſwere, *Non convenit politiæ Iudaicæ politiæ Romanæ*, that thoſe ſeverall Common-wealths were governed by ſeverall Lawes and Cuſtomes, and that which was thought fit in the government of the one, was not thought neceſſary in the government of the other: the ſame anſwer in effect may I giue vnto you. *Non convenit politiæ Iudaicæ politiæ Anglicanæ*, the Commodities of the earth when *Moſes* Lawes were given to the *Iewes*, were not of that eſtimation as in after times they were in thoſe parts of the world where the Lawes are ſo ſtrict againſt theeues and robbers. And therefore there needed not ſuch ſevere puniſhments, as now are provided againſt ſuch malefactors. Againe, the Lawes of Common-wealths ebbe and flow, riſe and fall, liue and die; that which was Law

in the times of our progenitors, perhaps in our times is no Law, and that which is now Law, perhaps in the next age, though in the ſame Common-wealth, will be none; therefore no marvaile, though the Lawes of one Nation differ from the Lawes of another; the Lawes of *England* from the Lawes of the *Iewes*.

Ruſtic: You haue ſufficiently ſhewed what the Lawes and puniſhments againſt private theeues are; in the next place, I pray you, acquaint me what are the Lawes againſt publicke theeues to the Common-wealth, I meane, Encloſers, Foreſtallers, Regrators, and Engroſſers, and Sheriffs that abuſe their places.

Iurid: Sir, the puniſhments are of different natures, according to the different Lawes. The puniſhment of the Encloſers in one kinde, the puniſhment of the Foreſtaller in another, of the Sheriffe in another. The (*) *puniſhment of the Encloſer,* that ſhall turne tillage into paſture, is a forfeiture of one halfe of the revenue of the land ſo converted: the puniſhment of (*) the *Foreſtaller, Regrator, and Ingroſſer*, is for the firſt offence two moneths impriſonment, and a forfeiture of the goods ſo foreſtalled and ingroſſed. For the ſecond offence, a forfeiture of double the value of the goods ſo foreſtalled and engroſſed, and halfe a yeares impriſonment. For the third offence, it is impriſonment at the Kings will and pleaſure; together with the puniſhment of the Pillory, and forfeiture of all his goods and Chattels; who in former times were growne ſo odious in the eye of the Common-wealth, that they were not thought fit to liue in a Civill Societie: and therefore by a Statute-Law made in the dayes of King (*) *Edward* the 1. they were turned out of all Townes, and ſent into the remote places to ſeeke their habitations. The puniſhment of the Sheriffe for exacting more than is allowed him by the Lawes and Statutes of the Realme, is (*) *treble damages* to the partie that is abuſed, and forty pound

(*) 4. Hen: 7. *Cap.* 19.

(*) 5. Edw: 6. *Cap.* 14.

(*) *See the Stat. of the* 31. *yeare of* Edw. *the firſt.*

(*) *An.* 29. *Eliz. Cap.* 4.

to

to the King, whereof one moitie is to goe to the King; the other moitie to the partie that will ſue for the ſame; as in caſe a Sheriffe for making of an Arreſt will take aboue x x. ℔. and in caſe of ſerving of a Writ of Execution, will take aboue xij. ℔. in the pound, where the ſum amounteth not to the value of a hundred pound. Thus briefly haue I ſhewed what puniſhmẽts the Lawes haue provided againſt private theeues; and what puniſhments they haue provided, for many of thoſe before-named publike theeues, or enemies to the Common-wealth.

Ruſtic: I pray you goe on and acquaint me, what Lawes are derived out of the next Lawes, as they ſtand in order in the Decalogue.

Iurid: I will therein ſatisfie you likewiſe; and firſt I will ſhew vnto you what the Lawes are; then the excellency of thoſe Lawes by the antiquitie of them; then how ſtrict the *Turkes*, and the very Heathens haue been in keeping of them, by the performance of ſuch vowes and promiſes as they made; then how odious and deteſtable the infringers, that is to ſay, lyers, ſwearers, rumor-rayſers, and periured perſons haue beene amongſt them, and what puniſhments they provided for them; then how miraculouſly God hath puniſhed thoſe kinde of people; and, laſtly, what puniſhments the Lawes vnder which we liue, haue provided for them. You ſhall vnderſtand, in the firſt place, that all thoſe Nationall Lawes, that conjoyne Princes in Leagues and Truces one to another, all the ſeverall municipall Lawes of Nations, that decide Controverſies betweene partie and partie, and generally all Lawes that vphold ſocietie and commerce betweene man and man are hence derived, and are comprehended vnder theſe titles, *De actionibus & judicijs, de accuſationibus, de calumniatoribus, de prævaricatoribus, de teſtibus, probationibus & appellationibus.* The excellency of which Lawes is manifeſted vnto vs by the long vſe and continuance of them, it be-

ing the moſt true and ſureſt marke of a good and abſolute Law; they being approved, & practiſed by all ſorts of people, by the Prophets and Patriarks, Apoſtles and Evangeliſts, *Turkes* and *Mahumetans*, Heathens and Barbarians. *Abraham* amongſt the Patriarks vſed it, he made a Covenant with *Abimeleck*, and tooke an oath, and becauſe he had done ſo, he faithfully obſerved it, though it were to *Abimeleck*. The Apoſtles and Evangeliſts vſed it, and that it might not looſe the honor and reverence due vnto it, gaue ſpeciall Command that in triviall affaires an oath ſhould not be adminiſtred, nor in any other places, but at the (*) *Tombes of the Martyrs*; which in the time of the primitiue Church were the places where Controverſies were decided. *Amurah* tooke an oath, and though it were to the King of *Hungary*, a Chriſtian King, yet obſerved it: and *Regulus* tooke an oath, though it were to the *Carthaginians* his profeſt enemies, yet would not violate it: and *Pompey* having made but a promiſe, that he might not be thought careleſſe of it, expoſed himſelfe to imminent danger: ſo that oathes were vſed even from the beginning, by all ſorts of people, though in a different manner. The Booke which the Prophets and Patriarks did vſe to ſweare vpon, was the Booke of *Moſes*; the Booke which the Apoſtles and Evangeliſts vſed was the booke of the new Teſtament; the Booke which the *Turkes* and *Mahumetans* vſed, was their *Alcoran*; the obligation by which the Heathens bound themſelues, was the name of *Iupiter* regularly. Yet they had their (g) divers formes of oaths: *Socrates* had his gooſe to ſweare by; *Zeno* his dog; *Plato* his *Themides*; yet all had their *Inpiter*; whoſe preſence when they implored, they would ſooner die, than infringe their faith. It is remarkeable to ſee how ſtrictly the old *Romanes* did obſerue their words, and obſerue ſuch engagements as they had vnder-taken: they had a cuſtome amongſt them that when any league

(*) *Auguſt.*

(g) Multiplex apud gentes juſiurandum fuit; per terram, per amnes, per fontes, per vndas fluentes.

Apud *Thraces* per *Mercurium*, apud *Perſas* per ſolem, apud *Ægyptios* per alliũ, porrum, & cepas juſiurandum fuit.

Sophocles per *Caſtorem* & *Pollucem*. Æthiopes per defunctos quos colebant vitâ; *Gracorum* plerique; per *Rhadamanthũ*: *Pythagorei* per quaternionem jurabant.

Alexand. ab *Alexand. lib.* 5.

or

or truce had beene made betweene them and their enemies, to put the same in Writing, and afterwards to cause their Fæciales, which did execute the same Office with them as our Heralds doe with vs, to proclaime the same in the Frontiers of the enemies Country, and to call vpon their great God *Iupiter*, to beare witnesse that whatsoever was to be performed on the parts of the *Romanes*, they did promise to keepe (*) inviolably; and if they failed in the performance thereof, they desired no more mercy or compassion to be shewed vnto them, then they shewed vnto that dog which they then killed: so that if at any time they had fayled in the performance of such Articles, as they had agreed vpon, they had a strong conceit, that some evill would suddenly befall them; as it did that yeare that *Fabius* prophaned the rites and Ceremonies of their Fæcialls, at which time their chiefe Cittie was sacked by the *Gawles*.

(*) Fæcialium juramentum fuit hæc verba proferre; si sine dolo hoc fœdus facio, dij mihi cuncta lætitia præstent; sin aliter facio, aut cogito, cæteris omnibus salvis, solus ego peream.
Alexand. ab *Alexand.* *lib.* 5. *cap.* 10.

Rustic: Haue the Heathenish *Romanes* and *Turkes* beene so punctuall in obseruance of their engagements?

Iurid: Yes certainly, as I will shew you in two memorable examples of the *Romanes*, & one of the *Turkes*. *Regulus*, a *Romane*, being taken Captive by the *Carthaginians*, was sent vnto *Rome* vpon this Embassie, either to procure so many Captive *Carthaginians*, which the *Romans* had taken, to be sent home vnto *Carthage* for his ransome, or els he to returne againe: but before he tooke his journey, they caused him to take an oath, that if he did not procure their releafe, that then he himselfe should returne to *Carthage*. (h) *Regulus* went accordingly, and comming vnto *Rome* he related vnto the Senate the cause of his comming; the *Romanes* overioyed with the sight of their *Regulus*, being one that had deserved well of them, granted what he desired before they knew what his desire was; which he taking most kindly, yet

(h) *Cicero lib. 3. Offic.*

refusing their kindnesse, after some short stay of Congratulation with them, told them that he had a second requeſt vnto them, which was that he might haue their loue and leaues to depart from them: at which the *Romanes* being astonished, and not so much joyed at the first with the sight of him, as they were now grieved that he would depart from them; would needs know of him the motiues that induced him vnto it. *Regulus* willing to giue vnto them all satisfaction, told them that he was abashed to come vnto them vpon so vnwelcome a Message, but desired them to excuse him for that he was sent by the *Carthaginians*, and he must needs goe whom the *Carthaginians* droue. The cause wherefore he did now leaue them was, not for any ill will he bare them, or by reason of any vnkindnesse conceived, but out of his (23) *loue and respect vnto them*, for that he was now grown old and full of diseases and infirmities, and not able as formerly he had beene to doe them service: and that he was but one, nor one neither, but halfe one: one foote being in the graue alreadie, and why so many captive *Carthaginians* should be delivered for the ransome of one *Romane*, the meanest of which were better able to do them service than he was, (which was the cause of his Embassie) he saw no reason for it; and that they might justly taxe him of his neglect of them, if he should request so vnreasonable a thing of them, and so desired them as formerly that he might haue their loues to returne againe: with which the *Romanes* being yet not well satisfied, perswaded yet further with him, that as he had ever-loved them, so he would continue it to the last, and leaue his bones with them. My bones (alas quoth he) in them there is nothing but rottennesse and putrefaction, but that which is dearer vnto me, my heart I will: but as for (24) *my bones*, seeing I haue given my faith to the *Carthaginians*, to them I must bequeath them, and returne againe. When reply was made, but it

(23) Vicit amor patriæ ratione valentior omni. Omnium societatum nulla est gratior (inquit *Cicero*,) nulla charior quàm ea quæ cum repub. est vnicuiq; nostrûm; chari sunt parentes, chari liberi, propinqui, familiares; sed omnes omnium charitates patria vna complexa est; pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere, si ei sit profuturus?
Cicero lib. 1. Offic:

(24) O térq; quatérq; beati
Quels ante ora patrũ, *Troiæ*
sub mœnibus altis
Contigit oppetere.
Virgil: Æneid. 1.

it was to the *Carthaginians*. O! but with the *Carthaginians* faith is not to be violated. And ſo notwithſtanding all the perſwaſions that could be vſed, he returned againe: vpon whoſe returne the *Carthaginians* cauſed new kinde of torments to be inflicted vpon him, cut off his eye-lids, to the intent that he might not ſleepe, and inflicted vpon him ſuch ineffable puniſhments, as no ¶(25) *tongue or penne is able to expreſſe.* The like *Romane* reſolution is ſaid to be in (*) *Pompey*, who having with ſome others engaged himſelfe in a great dearth at *Rome* to make proviſiō for the Citizens, being ready to hoyſe vp ſayle, there fell out on a ſuddaine very ſtormie and tempeſtuous winds, inſomuch that they that were with him on the ſhore, and they which were with him in the Ship, and were to accompany him in the voyage, deſired him to ſtay vntill the ſtorme were over; vnto whom *Pompey* anſwered, *Vt eam, non vt viuam, neceſſe eſt*, needfull it is that I ſhould goe, not that I ſhould liue; for without me, *Rome* may well ſubſiſt, but not without meate and drinke; ſo in the midſt of the ſtorme, that he might not be thought careles of his word and promiſe, and of what he had vnder-taken, he tooke his voyage. (26) *Amurah*, a *Turke* likewiſe, having made a truce with the King of *Hungary*, and taken his oath vpon his *Alcaron* to keepe it inviolably, turned his forces intended for *Europe* into the Coaſts of *Aſia*. Of which when the King of *Hungarie* had notice, notwithſtanding his oath, by the perſwaſion of *Iulius* the Popes Legate, and other the *Romiſh* Biſhops, was drawne to invade the *Turkes* Territories in *Thracia*, contrary to the league, of which when the *Turke* was given to vnderſtand, he reduced his Forces forthwith into *Europe* againe, and ſet vpon the Chriſtians: where after a long Skirmiſh, the *Turke* enveighing againſt the trechery of the Chriſtians, lifted vp his eyes and hands and cryed, O Ieſus Chriſt, if thou be God, as they ſay thou art, revenge this abuſe offered

(25) Quis funera fando
Explicet? aut poſſit lachrymis æquare dolores?
Virgil: Æneid. 2.

(*) *Plutarch. in regū Apophth.*

(26) Vide generalem hiſtoriam *Turcarum* in *Amurah.* 6.

offered vnto thy Name: and no ſooner had he ſpoken it, the Battaile being before doubtfull, but the victory fell to the *Turke*: the King being taken, and his head as an Enſigne of trechery being ſet vpon a Speare, the Popes Legate and many of his Biſhops being ſlaine with him. If *Regulus* a Heathen, and *Amurah* a *Turke*, were ſo regular, ſo ſtrict & preciſe, that they would not prophane the name of their Gods, invocated to witneſſe a vow made vnto their profeſt enemies; with what face can a Chriſtian ſtand before the Tribunall of God at the laſt day, that hath ſo often mockt and deluded him?

Ruſtic: *Regulus* in my opinion, might well haue diſpenſed with his oath, being made to his open and profeſt enemies.

Iurid: If he had beene a Chriſtian he could not; for he vowed no more then what he might well haue performed; which was either to returne againe, or to ſend ſo many Captive-*Carthaginians* from *Rome*; but if he had made a vow that had beene evill in it ſelfe; ſuch as was the vow of (k) *Herod vnto Herodias* for the cutting off *Iohn Baptiſt* head; for which both he and ſhee are branded with infamie, and the ſtigmaticall Characters remaine as yet vndefaced in them; or ſuch as King (l) *David made for the killing of Nabal*; or ſuch as our Votaries now adaies doe for the leading of a ſingle life, chooſing rather to be the Fathers of a ſpurious generation, then to breake the vow which they haue made. In theſe and the like caſes, they may very well (*) fayle in the ſtrict performance. The Lawes of Nature and Nations teach vs, that no tye or obligation, be it never ſo ſtrong, will tye a man to doe a wicked act, or any thing that is in it ſelfe miſchievous; as if a man make a ſolemne vow and proteſtation, or binde himſelfe in an obligation to kill ſuch a man, burne his houſe, or ſteale his horſe. With theſe a man may well diſpence withall, becauſe they are againſt the Lawes of God and men.

Ruſtic:

(k) *Math.* 14. *verſ.* 7.

(l) 1 *Sam.* 25. *verſ.* 22.

(*) Melius eſt vota ſtultæ promiſſionis non implere, quàm crimen admittere.

Morus ironicè commendat fidelitatem *Herodis* his verſibus.

O Regem fidum! ſed tunc tantummodò fidum,
Majus perfidia eſt cum ſceleſus ipſa fides.

Morus in Epigram. de *Herod:* & *Herodiad.*

Illicitum juramentum non eſt ſervandum

Lambert. inter leges *Alvredi.*

Rustic: Admit that *Regulus* should not so strictly haue performed the vow which he made to the *Carthaginians:* what harme or wrong could it haue beene vnto him, seeing that he was now at home amongst his friends, through whose importunitie and sollicitation he did what he did?

Iurid: Certainly besides the horror of his conscience, which is the (m) *greatest torment that any man can vndergoe,* the *Romanes* would not haue endured him, for they held him vnworthy the name of a *Romane,* and not fit to liue amongst them that was false and perfidious, and that faith even with theeues and robbers was to be obserued, and for no respect to be violated, no not for a Kingdome. (*) *A lyar they hated as death,* and made no difference betweene a lyar, swearer, and perjured person; for he that would lye would sweare, and he that would sweare would forsweare, if occasion were offered. A tale-teller likewise and rumor-rayser they could not endure; whom *Plutarch* in the life of *Alexander* in *Philotas* hath well set forth: (27) *Phylotas having setled his affections vpon the faire and louely Antigona* a Curtisan, whom he tooke Captive at the Battell in *Sicilia,* being desirous to endear himselfe vnto her, let fall some speeches tending to the dishonor of *Alexander,* affirming that what was done at that Battell, was done by his Father *Parmenio* and himselfe, and that they two kept the young man (for so he styled *Alexander*) in his throne, but no sooner had *Antigona* taken her leaue of him, but meeting with one of her acquaintance, related vnto her what *Philotas* had told her, and what words he vsed of *Alexander*; and so it went from one to another, whereby a fame was raysed, which comming to the vnderstanding of (*) *Craterus,* he forthwith acquainted *Alexander* with it, who sent for *Philotas,* and he for his vaine and foolish babling, received condigne punishment. Such kind of men as was this *Philotas* they would not

(m) Maxima pœna peccati est peccâsse.
Mala conscientia similis est, vxori *Socratis* quæ quotidiè illum cõuitijs insequebatur: nihil est miserius, quàm animus sibi conscius.
Plaut. in milite.
Heu quantum misero pœnæ mens conscia donat!
Lucan.

(*) Apud *Homerum Achilles* non secùs ac mortem odisse inquit se eum, qui aliud ore promit, aliud pectore claudit: & inter mendacem & perjurum nihil interesse contendit *Cicero*; nam qui mentiri solet, pejerare solet; & qui ad mendacium, idem ad perjurium adduci potest, & eadem pœna tam mendacio quàm perjurio à dijs datur.

(27) *As in a fury of a dreadfull fight,*
Their fellowes being slaine, or put to flight;
Poore Souldiers stand with feare of death dead stricken,
So with Antigona *was* Philotas *taken.*

(*) *Craterus* fuit *Alexandri* in delitijs, *Ephestionem* amabat maximè, sed *Craterum* honorabat maximè.

not endure, nor giue any Credit vnto their words and teſtimonies: but as for (*) *him that had called their Gods to witneſſe*, that what they had ſaid was true, or what they vowed they would performe, vnto which they would haue beene abaſhed *to haue called a* (n) *friend*, yet fayled in the one or the other; ſuch a one they abhorred and deteſted. It is reported of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, that he was vſed to ſay, that he loved the treaſon but hated the traytor: the name of a traytor was ever odious and deteſtable, in thoſe two moſt deteſtable and (o) *deviliſh Conſpiracies*, wherein *Faux* was an Enginere, and *Gowrie* a Conſpirator. The Pope would never patronize the Conſpirators, though as it was reported, he did allow of the Conſpiracies. A perjured perſon who is an arch-enemy and traytor to God and man, is hatefull even of his owne (p) *fraternitie and ſocietie*; for though they loue the perjurie, by reaſon of the benefit that cõmeth vnto them by it, yet they hate the perſon; for that he which was ſometimes periured in their behalfe, may vndoe what he hath done, and ſpeake the truth when times ſerue. *Solyman* loathed and abhorred the Traytor that betrayed *Rhodes* vnto him, and in ſtead of his daughter whom he expected to be given him in marriage for a reward, he cauſed him to be fleyed and ſalted, and in deriſion told him, that it was not fit for a Chriſtian to marry with a *Turke*, vnleſſe he put off his old skin. (*) *Charles* the fourth rewarded the Souldiers that betrayed their Lord and Maiſter with counterfeit coyne, and being deſired to deliver currant money, anſwered, that counterfeit coyne was the proper wages for counterfeit ſervice. The ſame reward (as § *Paulus Æmilius* reports) did *Clodoveus* beſtow vpon them that betrayed *Cannacarius* into his hands. *Alexander* cauſed

(*) Per leges *Ægyptiorum* perjuri capite multabantur, tanquam duplici tenerentur ſcelere, vt qui pietatẽ in deos violarent, & fidem inter homines tollerent maximum vinculum ſocietatis humanæ. *Diod. Sic. lib. 1. rerum antiquarum. cap. 3.*

(n) Non pudet (inquit *Philo*) deum parentem et gubernatorem mundi ad eas res teſtem advocare ad quas ne amicum quidem aut leres adducere.

(o) Quis niſi de *Stygio* fuerat prolapſus *Averno*
Tam dirum poterat ſollicitare nefas.

(p) Miniſtri ſcelerum tanquam exprobrantes ab ipſis authoribus ſemper aſpiciuntur. *Tacit. lib. 14.*

Vide Apologum de lupis & Canibus quo oſtenditur proditores odioſos eſſe ſuæ fraternitati.

Vide *Æſopicam* Cornicem in Apologo.

De *Laſthene* proditore dicitur cum patriam ſuam Olynthũ Macedonibus prodidiſſet, & ob id apud eos in honore futurum arbitrabatur, ei ſecùs longè accedit; nam per Caſtra paſſim proditor appellabatur, et cùm de ea re *Philippo* conquerebatur, ei reſpõdit *Philippus*, *Macedones* ſuos homines eſſe admodũ agreſtes & rudes, qui res alio nomine quàm ſuo proprio vocare neſcirent. Dicunt enim Scaphium ſcaphium.

It is reported of King Canute *when* Edrick *had betrayed his King and Countrey into his hands, that he ſhould ſay, that for his deſerts he ſhould be advanced above the Nobilitie of* England, *which he immediately performed by advancing his head vpon the Tower of* London. (*) *Krantius*, § *Paulus Æmilius lib. 2. De rebus geſt. Franc. in Clodoveo.*

Beſſus

Beſſus that betrayed *Darius* to be put to death; and *Cæſar* would not endure to looke vpon *Herodotus* and *Achillas*, that preſented him the head of *Pompey*: and certainely, if *Mænas* had cut the Cables at that time when *Pompey* feaſted *Cæſar* and *Anthonie* in his Gallies, *Pompey* would haue rewarded him as *Alexander* did *Beſſus*. It is reported of *Conſtantius Cæſar*, the Father of *Conſtantine* the Great, that he decreed that all ſuch Chriſtians as would not adore his Gods, ſhould depart from his ſeruice; yet all thoſe that denyed their faith, he baniſhed too, for this reaſon; for that he which hath beene once falſe to God, will never be true to men. A lyar or perjured perſon amongſt the *Romanes* was not to be beleeued, though he had ſpoken or ſworne the truth. (q) *Quoniam qui ſemel eſt malus ſemper præſumitur eſſe malus in eodem genere mali.* For that he that hath beene once falſe is ever to be ſuſpected in the ſame kinde of falſhood. Wherefore faith is aptly compared to a glaſſe, which being once broken, can never be repaired; or to opportunitie, which once omitted, can never be recouered: therefore if *Regulus* had ſtayd at *Rome*, contrary to his oath, the *Romanes* certainly would never haue endured him, though he was thereunto required; ſo odious and deteſtable were thoſe ſorts of people in the *Romane* Common-wealth.

(q) Vide Apologum de mendaci puero: quo oſtenditur mendaces hoc conſequi, vt verũ cum dicunt nemo credat.

Fallacem quemcunq; ſemel cognoueris hoſtem,
Huic debes poſt hæc non adhibere fidem.
Quid non audebit perfida lingua loqui?
Regulus cùm vigilando necabatur, erat in meliore cauſa quàm ſi domi periurus Conſularis remanſiſſet.
Cicero lib. 2. Offic.

Ruſtic: Had the Heathens any Lawes, I pray you, to puniſh theſe kinde of people: *viz.* lyars, rumor rayſers, and perjured perſons?

Inrid: The Heathen Orator will tell you, that by the Lawes of the Heathens, the ſame (r) *puniſhment* was due to the lyar as to the periured perſon, and that amongſt the moſt barbarous people of the Heathens the (ſ) *Indians*: if a man had beene thrice found to haue beene a lyar, he was not to haue vndergone any office, but to haue had his fingers and toes cut off; and as concerning the puniſhment due to the (t) *rumor-rayſer*, you ſhall finde

(r) Eadem pœna tam mendacio quàm perjurio à dijs datur. *Cicero.*

(ſ) *Alexand.* ab *Alexand.*

(t) *Plutarch. in Nicia.*

finde it well ſet forth in the end of the life of *Nicea* in *Plutarch*. It happened vpon a time that a ſtranger comming into a Barbers ſhop, to be disburdened of ſome ſuperfluous excrements which he carried about him, whileſt he was vnder the Barbers hands, told him of ſome ſtrange Occurrences which happened in *Sicilia*, which the Barber conceiving to be true, relates the ſame vnto the Citizens where he lived; the Citizens vpon the hearing of it make an vproare, which the Magiſtrate endevouring to ſuppreſſe, would needs know of them the cauſe of the tumult, which they affirmed to be by reaſon of ſome occurrences which happened in *Sicilia*, and being demanded to tell where they had their intelligence, it was found that it proceeded from a Barber; who being ſūmoned to appeare before the Magiſtrate, affirmed, that what he related he heard of a ſtranger in his ſhop; but becauſe he could not produce the ſtranger *Pro mendace & Civitatis turbatore in rotam deligatus, & diu tortus eſt*; he had the puniſhment of the wheele, as a diſturber of the peace of the Citie, and was cruelly tortured and tormented.

Ruſtic: But how doe theſe kinde of people ſtand in the ſight of God, eſpecially perfidious truce-breakers, and falſe-hearted perjured perſons?

Iurid: Moſt odious and contemptible; as is manifeſted in all our hiſtories both ſacred and prophane; looke in the Hiſtories of former ages, and you ſhall ſee how miraculouſly God hath ever puniſht this offence of perjurie. *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Macrobius* ſpeake of a religious lake in *Sicilie*, where the *Sicilians* did vſe to take their oaths for the deciding of controverſies; and if they had ſworne the truth, they returned without harme; but if they forſwore themſelues they were drowned. And *Ariſtotle* ſpeaketh of another lake neare vnto it, which is called *Fons Acadinus*; into which the depoſitions of the Witneſſes are throwne, and if they containe nothing

nothing but veritie, they ſwimme on the top of the water; if otherwiſe, they ſinke to the bottome. And (u) *Solinus* hath ſomething of a lake in *Sardinia*, with the water whereof the deponents are cõmanded to waſh their eyes, and if they haue depoſed the truth, their eyes became more cleare; if falſe, it put out their eyes. And *Diodorus Siculus* ſpeakes of another Lake neare vnto *Tiana*, of which they that take an oath are accuſtomed to drinke, and if they ſweare the truth, it affords a ſweet and pleaſant relliſh to the palate, and becomes nutrimentall to their bodies; if falſe, it makes their bodies leprous, and ſo benummes them, that they are not able to ſtirre, but continue there, bewayling their miſerable eſtate and condition; the like water he reports to be in *Æthiopia*. Thus miraculouſly doth God puniſh this offence. Looke againe into the Booke of God, and there you ſhall ſee what puniſhment (w) *Iezabel*, and the reſt that conſpired againſt *Naboth* vnder-went; how the accuſers of *Daniel* were puniſhed; and the (x) *falſe Witneſſes* that roſe vp againſt *Suſanna*? How *Sauls* (y) *poſteritie* were puniſhed for the breach of the league which *Ioſuah* made with the *Gibeonites*? How (z) *Simeon* and *Levi* were curſed by their Father at his death, for that they deſtroyed *Sichem* and *Hamor*, contrary to the Covenant and league made with them. Looke into the Eccleſiaſticall Hiſtories, and there you ſhall ſee how the (a) *three Witneſſes* that roſe vp againſt *Narciſſus*, Biſhop of *Ieruſalem* were puniſhed; how according to their ſeverall wiſhes they received condigne puniſhment: three falſe brethren having cõſpired againſt the good Biſhop, to the end that they might dazle the eyes of the world, and make the world beleeue, that what they had ſaid was true, made three voluntary wiſhes: the firſt wiſht, that if that which he had ſaid were not true, that a ſuddaine fire might come downe from heaven, and conſume him; the ſecond wiſht that ſome extreame ſickneſ

(u) *Solinus* in Collectanea rerum memorabilium.

(w) 1 *Regum Cap.* 21. *v.* 23.

(x) *See the hiſtory of* Suſanna, *verſ.* 26.

(y) 2 *Sam.* 21. *verſ.* 1.

(z) *Gen.* 49. *verſ.* 5.

(a) *Euſeb: Eccleſiaſt. hiſtor. lib.* 5. *cap.* 8.

might befall him, and like a Cankar eat out the marrow of his bones; the third, that his eyes might fall out; and according to their wiſhes it happened to them all: the firſt was burnt with all his poſſeſſions; the ſecond periſhed with a languiſhing and loathſome diſeaſe; the third perceiving the puniſhment to happen to the other according to their wiſhes and deſires, confeſſed his offence, and deſired pardon of the Almightie, and by reaſon of his continuall penetentiall teares which he ſhed, at length loſt his eyes. So the Biſhop that fled out of feare, fearing that innocency could not haue withſtood the fury of three ſuch violent Witneſſes, was ſent for home againe, and reſtored to all his poſſeſſions. Looke againe into the Monkiſh and other Hiſtories, and you ſhall ſee how (b) *Ælfred a Nobleman of England* was miraculouſly puniſhed for perjury, who having plotted and conſpired againſt *Adelſtace* to put out his eyes, was put to his oath to make his purgation, by reaſon no evident teſtimony could be made thereof, who for that he tooke an Oath contrary to the truth and his conſcience, he fell downe preſently, and within three dayes dyed. You ſhall ſee again how (c) Earle *Godwin, Father to King Harold*, who having conſpired the vntimely death of King *Edward the Confeſſor*, denyed it with many proteſtations, being charged therewith; but at one time aboue the reſt more ſeriouſly and ſolemnly wiſhed, that the bread which he had in his hand might be his laſt, if ever he had any ſuch thought; and as he wiſhed, ſo it befell him; for in the eating of it he was choked. Looke into *Plutarch*, and you ſhall ſee how (d) *Cleomenes was puniſhed for the breach of the Truce which he made with the men of Argyers. Cleomenes* having made a Truce with the men of *Argyers* for ſeaven dayes, ſet vpon them in the night, and ſlew many of them, and being reproved for doing ſo, anſwered that he made a Truce but for ſeaven dayes; but he eſcaped not vnpuniſhed; for as the Story

(b) *William Malmesb. de geſtis regum Ang. lib. 2. cap. 6. pag. 28.*

(c) *H. Hunting. lib. 2. p. 210. Precatio Godwini.* Si deus cæli verax, & juſtus, hoc panis fruſtulum concedat ne guttur pertranſeat, ſi vnquam te prodere cogitaverim; Deus autem (vt eſt in hiſtoria) audivit vocem proditoris, & mox eodem pane ſtrangulatus mortem præguſtavit æternam.

(d) *Plutarch. in Regum Apophteg.*

Story saith, assayling of the Citie, he had a most shamefull and disgracefull repulse by the women, which so perplext him, that he fell mad, and ript vp his owne bowells. Looke againe into *Plutarch*, and you shall see how *Alexander* Eclipsed the glory of all his Enterprises by putting of the poore *Indians* to death, contrary to his promise, who submitted themselues vnto him. So odious haue Truce-breakers and perjured persons beene ever in the sight of God.

See Philip Commin: *how the Duke of* Bourbon *was punished in his house for delivering vp of the Constable of* France *vnto the King, after he had given him safe conduct.* Lib. 4. cap. 13.

Rustic: The offences of lying, rumor-raysing, and perjurie, being offences of so high a nature; how commeth it to passe, that we haue no Lawes amongst our selues to punish them?

Iurisp: Sir, you are mistaken, we haue Lawes which punish them in a high degree, though not in so high a degree, as did the Lawes made in the dayes of our forefathers and progenitors.

Rustic: What Law is there, I pray you, to punish a rumor-rayser, and how were they punisht in the dayes of our progenitors?

Iurisp: By the *Ancient* (e) *Lawes of England*, if any one had been the Author of any false rumor, his tongue was to haue beene cut out, vnlesse he would haue redeemed it with the price of his head. The Lawes of *England* now in force, haue provided punishments which haue a resemblance vnto the punishments spoken of in the life of *Nicea*, which were inflicted vpon the Barber by a (f) *Statute-Law made in the dayes of King Edward the first*; If any one shall rayse any rumor whereby discord and dissention shall grow betweene the King his people and Nobles, he that doth rayse the same shall be kept in prison vntill he hath brought him forth that did speake the same. In the dayes of King *Richard* the 2. there were (g) *Lawes made*, that if any one should counterfeit any false Newes, lyes, or tales of any Prelates, Dukes, Earles, Barons, or other Nobles of the Realme, or

(e) Qui falsos rumores in vulgus spargẽdi autor est, lingua ei præcisa erit, nisi capitis æstimatione vult redimere, per leges *Alured*: idem supplicium in eosdem, per leges *Edgari*. Vid. *Lam. Sax. leg.*

(f) *See the Stat. of Westm.* 1. *cap.* 33.

(g) *See the Stat.* 2. *Richa.* 2. *cap.* 11.

or of the Chauncelor, Treaſurer, Clerke of the privie ſeale, Iuſtice of one bench or other, the great Officers of the Realme, which by the ſaid Lords were never ſpoken nor thought of, whereby debate may ariſe betweene the Lords and Commons, and thereby great miſchiefe incurre vnto the Realme, he was to vndergoe ſuch puniſhments as was provided by the Statute made before in the dayes of King *Edward* the firſt; and to endure ſueh further puniſhments as the Lords in their diſcretions ſhould thinke fit; as by another (h) *Statute made in the ſaid Kings Raigne may appeare.* So doe the Lawes of the Kingdome where you liue puniſh rumorrayſers.

(h) *See the Stat. of* 12. R. 2. *cap.* 11.

Ruſtic: But how doe the Lawes of our Kingdome puniſh perjured perſons?

The (i) *Statute-Lawes* of the Kingdome of *England* do thus puniſh them; as they haue endeuoured as much as in them lye, to corrupt the Iudge that decides Controverſies, and to infringe the bond that vnites and tyes man to man, ſo as an enemy to mankinde doth the Law behold them; for after that ſhee hath branded them for perjured perſons, and burthened them with a fine more heavie than their ſhoulders will well beare, ſhee ſequeſters them by impriſonment, as not fit to partake of humane ſocietie, and diſables their teſtimonies in all other caſes whatſoever. So doe the Lawes of our Kingdome puniſh perjurie.

(i) *See the Stat. of* 5. Eliz. Per antiquas leges *Angliæ* ſi quis juſiurandum violaverit, fides ei in poſterùm non fuit adhibenda, verùm in Ordalium adiudicandus. Vid. *Lam.* in priſcis *Angl.* leg. inter leges *Edw:*

Idem ſupplicium per legem *Canuti*, & per legem *Edw:* & *Guthleni*; mulierculæ perjurioſæ à finibus regni relegantur. Vid. *Lamb.*

Apud *Perſas* lingua magis caſtigabatur, quàm vllum probrum. *Curtius.*

Ruſtic: I pray you reſolue me this doubt, doe the Statute-Lawes puniſh all falſe Witneſſes alike, making no difference betweene a Witneſſe whoſe teſtimonie tends onely to the taking away of the goods or good name of a man, and a Witneſſe whoſe teſtimony tends as well to the life as liuelihood of him.

Iurid: Certainely, in both Caſes the puniſhment is but pecuniary & corporall, yet more or leſſe according to the nature and qualitie of the offence; for if a (k) *falſe teſtimony*

(k) *See the Stat. of the fifth yeare of Queene* Elizabeth.

teſtimony be vſed in any Cauſe depending before the Kings Iuſtices in any of his Highnes Courts of Record at *Weſtm.* be it by Writ, Action, Bill, Information, or in any Leets, view of Frankpledge, Law-day or auncient Demeſne Court, Hundred, Court Baron, or in the Court of *Stanneries* in *Deuonſhire* or *Cornwall*, for any Lands or Tenements, Goods or Chattels, the puniſhment is certaine, that is to ſay, fortie pounds againſt a ſuborner and procurer, and twentie pounds where no ſubornation is, if he hath wherewithall to ſatisfie; if not then impriſonment for halfe a yeare, without bayle or mainpriſe, and to ſtand vpon the Pillorie for halfe an houre, within the Market-Towne where the offence was committed, or in ſome Towne neare adjoyning; but if it be in Caſe of Confederacy or Conſpiracy, where the life of a man is queſtioned, then the puniſhment is more or leſſe, according to the nature and qualitie of the offence; as the Lords in their diſcretions ſhall thinke meete and conuenient.

Ruſt: Giue me leaue, I pray you, to expoſtulate a little with you; how can a pecuniary puniſhmẽt be in any degree æquiualent to the nature of the offẽce, which tends to the taking away of the life of a man; and how cõmeth it to paſſe, that the intent in ſome caſes ſhall be puniſhed with death, when it extends no further then to the taking away of the goods of a man; and in other Caſes when it extends to the taking away of his life, it ſhall be puniſhed but with a pecuniary and corporall puniſhment. As for example; If a man haue an intent to rob a dwelling houſe, and purſue it ſo far as to breake downe a wall, though he take nothing away, yet if his felonious intent doe appeare by the remoouall of goods out of their places, & packing them together, making them fit for portage, he ſhall vndergoe the ſame puniſhment as he ſhould haue done if ſo be he had taken them away: but if a man ſhall ſuborne two Witneſſes to depoſe a

thing which trencheth to the life of a third perſon, though this ſubornation, plot, and Conſpiracy be proved by Cõfeſſion of the partie, or otherwiſe, yet the offender ſhall eſcape with a pecuniary and corporall puniſhment. By the Law of God ſuch a Witneſſe was puniſht with death; (l) *Lex Talionis* was put in execution, an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth. And as well by the (m) *Lawes of England* made in the dayes of King *Edw:* the 3. as by the (n) *Lawes of Scotland* made in the dayes of King *Iames* the ſixth, Falſe accuſers were puniſhed with the ſame puniſhment as they ſhould haue beene that were accuſed, if the accuſation had beene true.

Iurid: Certainly, I know no reaſon, why the one ſhould liue, and the other dye, vnleſſe it were to that end and purpoſe, as (o) *Nero was ſuffered to liue* that his puniſhment might be the greater, who after the murthering of his Mother, was continually terrified with the apparition of her Ghoſt, and with conceits that the furies perſecuted him with burning torches; or to that end and purpoſe as (p) *Alphonſus King of Naples* was ſuffered to liue, who having vnjuſtly murthered foure and twentie of his Barons, could never afterwards ſleepe quietly, but ever cryed in the night, that he heard the *French men* comming, and the trees and ſtones ſounded *France:* or to that end and purpoſe, as (q) *Richard the 3. was ſuffered to liue,* who never enjoyed himſelfe after the murther of his Nephewes: of whom Sir *Tho: More* thus writeth. I haue heard (ſaith he) by ſuch as were ſecret with his Chamberers, that after this abominable deede done, he never had quiet in his minde, he never thought himſelfe ſure; when he went abroad, his eyes whirled about, and his body was privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger: his countenance in manner as if he had beene alwayes readie to ſtrike; he tooke no reſt at nights, lay long waking and muſing, ſo wearied with care

(l) *Lex Talionis* fuit inducta à *Pythagora* ex authoritate *Rhadamanthi*, qui inter cæteras leges hanc tulit.
Si quis quod fecit patiatur, jus erit æquum.
Ariſtot. lib. 5. de iure Talionis.
Oculus pro oculo, dens pro dente, *Deut.* 19. 21. *Exod.* 21. 23.

(m) Vide Stat. de Ann. 37. *Edw:* 3. cap. 18.

(n) *By the Lawes of* Scotland, *he that accuſeth another of treaſon, who is acquited, commits treaſon.*
1°. Stat. Scot. 11. Parliam. Iac: 6ᵗ. cap. 49.

Non inutile conſilium Iacob. nuper Regis in oratione 5ᵗᵃ. in ius venientes, iure cõtra vos reddito, quieſcite, aliàs ſcitote non dormire Talionis legem

(o) *Sueton: in Nerone* 34. *Cornel: Tacit. lib* 14 *cap.* 3.

(p) *Phil: Commin: lib.* 7. *c* 11.

(q) Sir *Thomas More in* Ri. 3. pag. 69.

care and watching, rather ſlumbered than ſlept; troubled with fearefull dreames, ſodainly ſometimes ſtarted vp, leapt out of his bed, and ran about the Chamber, and ſo his reſtles heart was toſſed and tumbled with a tedious impreſſion and ſtormy remembrance of his abominable deede: or vnleſſe it were for that end and purpoſe, as they were ſuffered to liue in the dayes of *William* the Conquerour, when the puniſhment in no caſe was (r) *Capitall*; yet more terrible than death, the puniſhment ſometimes being the loſſe of a hand, ſometimes of a legge, ſometimes of every member of the body; *Ita quòd truncus ſolùm remaneat in ſignum nequitiæ*, according to the qualitie of the offence. I ſay, I know no reaſon, vnleſſe for theſe reaſons they were ſuffered to liue. And therefore I haue ever beene of opinion, that if in any caſe in the caſe of *Suſanna*, and *Phœbus* his wife, (*) *Lex Talionis* ſhould be put in execution, and haue often wiſhed that ſome good Law were made to puniſh falſe Witneſſes by the example of the Crow, which *Chawcer* in a few Verſes hath well remembred.

Beware my Sonne, be no Author new,
Of (*) tydings *be they falſe or true*;
Whereſoever thou come among high or low,
Keepe well thy tongue, and thinke of the Crow.

(r) Guilielmus Conqueſtor inter cæteras leges hanc tulit, vt ne quis occidatur, vel ſuſpẽdatur pro aliqua culpa, ſed eruantur oculi, vel abſcindantur teſticuli vel pedes, vel manus, ita quòd truncus ſolùm remaneat in ſignum proditionis ſuæ. Vid. *Lamb.* inter leges Guil. Conqueſt.

(*) Si quis quæ fecit patitur juſtiſſima pœna eſt.
——néq; lex eſt iuſtior vlla,
Quàm necis artifices arte perire ſua.
Ovid. 1. De Arte Amat.
Expectes eadem quæ nobis feceris (Albi)
Nam quem tu lædis, te ferit ille libens.
(*) Rebusin humanis magna eſt doctrina tacere,
Magnũ hoc ad requiẽ pharmacon invenies.
Vna tantùm lingua, eaq; inter dentes inclusa nobis data eſt, aures verò duæ, vt diſcamus multa audire & pauca loqui.

Ruſtic: You haue given me good ſatisfaction hitherto, I pray you goe on vnto the next, which is the laſt Law in the Catalogue, and acquaint me (as you haue done of the former) what Lawes are thence derived.

Iurid. I will therein ſatisfie you. And firſt I will ſhew you what Covetouſneſſe is; then how vnto it as the ſprings vnto the fountaine, all miſchiefes and inconveniences in a Common-wealth haue relation; how from it ariſe diſcords and diſſentions, factions and ſeditions, tumults and inſurrections; how it ſubverteth the Lawes

of God and nature; how it makes a man miſerable both in life and death; how the poore man that liues contentedly with a little, is in better ſtate than the rich covetous man; then, how the wiſeſt of the Heathens did abhorre it, and how the wiſeſt of Kings prayed againſt it; and laſtly, what Lawes haue beene made to reſtraine the vnbridled affections of couetouſneſſe and intemperate perſons; and ſo conclude for this time. You ſhall vnderſtand, that (ſ) *Couetouſneſſe is nothing els* but a thirſtie and greedy deſire after any thing which is prohibited; not of gold alone, *ſed vbicunq; plùs vult quiſq; quàm ſat eſt*, but whereſoeuer any one deſires more than enough of any thing; which the Auncients haue aptly termed *radix & ſcaturigo malorum*, the roote and cauſe of all miſchiefes in a Common-wealth; for what euill is there in Court or Country, that hath not this for an originall? what factions are there in Citie or ſocietie, that hath not this for a beginning? is it not this that diſturbes both Sea and Land, Church and Common-wealth, that makes the ſonne to wiſh his Father in his graue before his time? that makes the neareſt and deareſt friends fall fowle one vpon another? *Pylades* vpon *Oreſtes*, and *Damon* vpon *Pythias*? (ſ) *Cæſar* would not endure a ſuperior, nor *Pompey* an equall. But what was the reaſon? they were bewitcht with a greedie deſire of hauing. (ſ) *Sylla* would not endure *Marius*, nor (w) *Marius Sylla*; but what was the reaſon? it was (as *Florus* obſerues) of their *inexplebilis fames*, of their too much hungring and thirſting after greatneſſe; they were but two, but too many by two; for had they periſhed in the wombe, or dyed as ſoone as they were borne, it had beene happie for the *Romane* State, how many thouſand harmleſſe ſoules ſuffered, to ſatisfie the pride of their hearts, and ambitious thoughts? How did the ſtreets ſtreame with bloud, & the poore Mothers mourne and lament to ſee their babes and ſucklings taken from their breaſts,

(ſ) Auaritia quæ Græcè φιλαργυρία dicitur, non in ſolo argento vel nummis, ſed in omnibus rebus quæ immoderatè capiuntur intelligenda eſt. Vbicúnq; omninò plùs vult quiſq; quàm ſat eſt. *Auguſt.*

Ambitious hunting after honors, and worldly goods, were the cauſes of the ciuill warres betweene the 2 houſes of Yorke *and* Lancaſter.

See Philip Commin: lib. 1. cap. 7.

(t) Nec quenquam jam ferre poteſt Cæſarve priorem
Pompeiúſq; parem.
Lucan. lib. 1.

(u) *Plutarch. in Sylla & Mario Florus lib. 3. c. 21.*
Nulla fides regni ſocijs, omniſq; poteſtas
Impatiens conſortis erit.
Lucanus.

(w) *Marius* ex tenuiſſimo opulentiſſimus, atq; ex humili factus maximus, nullam fælicitatis metam ſciret, neq; in honore eſſe, nec frui in otio præſentibus facultatibus eſſet contentus.
Plutarch. in Mario.

Poſtquam *Sylla*, ad mactandum cõuertit ſe cædibus in-

breasts, & in their sight exposed to the fury of the beasts, before they were able to measure the ground with their paces? How did the poore Fathers sometimes lay violent hands vpon themselues, sometimes vpon their children, and all to prevent the fury of the enemy? How were the (*) *publike Theaters* sometimes the places of mirth and merriment, made the slaughter houses and shambles, wherein were butchered the Senators and the heads of the people? how were the high wayes tending to the Cities and the Market places, overgrowne with Mosse and grasse, thornes and briars? how was the mistris of the world forlorne and become like an Owle in the Desert? It is reported by the *Romane*. Writers, that during the last ten yeares Warres betweene *Marius* and *Sylla*, were slaine *one* (*) *hundred and fiftie thousand persons*; besides those of the Nobilitie, with whose heads *Marius* was vsed to recreate himselfe vpon his festivall and gaudie dayes. And besides those that were slaine by his Watch-word, which was that it should be a sufficient Warrant to kill a man of qualitie, *Cui fatalem illam scilicet manum non porrexerat salutanti*, who passing by *Marius* and doing his dutie vnto him, *Marius* did not giue him his hand to kisse. Of which miseries the poore Inhabitants of *Sulmo* and (†) *Praneste were too sensible*. What was the cause, I say, of all those miseries, but their too much hungring and thirsting after greatnesse? Why should not one house content one man, nay more, one Village, one Cirie, one Country, one Kingdome, one world, but wee must goe a hunting after many houses, Cities, Villages, Countries, Kingdomes; nay, with (‡) *Alexander* after worlds? Why should not one wife content one man; but wee must with the barbarous *Moores* thinke him most rich that can keepe most wiues? Why should not one servant content one man? When as by nature wee are all the sonnes of one common Father. Why should not one Asse content one man, when

undavit vrbem infinitis & immensis.
Plutarch. in Sylla.

Talis inveniebatur in Campo *Martio* inscriptio in monumento *Sylla*.
Ne nemine *Syllam* amicorum benefactis, vel inimicorum malefactis superatum.
No man ever surpassed him in doing good to his friends, and mischiefe to his enemies.
Plutarch in Sylla.

(*) Squallida status rerum facies, quasi tota retrorsum Effet in antiquum terra redacta Chaos.
Vndiq; fit planctus, singultus, et vndiq; clamor;
Quisq; miser, nec quem qui miseretur, habet.
(*) *Oros. lib. 5. cap. 22. Eutrop. lib. 5.*

(†) Sylla *slew* 12. *thousand men in* Prænestè, *being put all in one place, and would have saved his Hoste, but he would not liue, his Countrymen being dead.* *Plut. in Sylla.*

(‡) Non vnus Iuveni Pæleo sufficit orbis.
Iuvenal.

as he that hath thousands can ride but vpon one? Why should we Covet our neighbours house, our neighbours wife, our neighbours Oxe, our neighbours Asse, or any thing that is his, when as we haue enough of our owne. (t) *Nature is contented with a little:* shee desires but meate, drinke, and clothing, and a competency in all. It is opinion that is so restles, that will not be satisfied. When *Philip* of *Macedone* fell backwards and saw his portraiture in the dust, he began to take a strict account of himselfe, why he should covet after much when as so little a (28) spot as his length & breadth must within a few yeares after containe him. Indeede neither *Philip* nor a greater than *Philip*, *Alexander* though he were the sole Monarch of the world, when death hath once levelled his body with the dust, haue a greater interest in the earth than the (u) *meanest subiect* within his Territories. King *Henry* the second had his eight foote allowed him, and no more; as appeares by this his Epitaph in (*) *Mathew Paris*.

Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi,
Multipliciq; modo duxq; Comesq; fui.
Cui satis ad votum non essent omnia terræ
Climata, terra modo sufficit octo pedum:
Qui legis hæc pensa discrimina mortis, & in me,
Humanæ speculum conditionis habes.
Sufficit hic tumulus cui non sufficerat orbis,
Res brevis ampla mihi, cui fuit ampla brevis.

Which I may thus Englisht; You which are the great Lords of the world, that doe so much desire to enlarge your Dominions, behold in me as in a glasse, your true estate. I that was sometimes as you are, a great Commander of many Nations, to whom no titles of honour were wanting; whose thoughts the earth could not containe, now lye environed in the compasse of eight foote of

(t) Discite quàm parvo liceat producere vitam,
Et quantum natura petat.
Satis est populis fluviúsq;
Cerésq;.
Lucan: lib. 3.

Clarum est dictum Epicuri (vt inquit *Seneca*) si ad naturam vives, nunquam eris pauper, si ad opinionem nunquam dives; exiguum natura desiderat, opinio immensum. *Senec. Epist. 16.*

Quisquis exit in lucem, iussus est lacte & pane esse contentus.

(28) Vos et in humano paritis qui fœnore fœnus,
Qui falsos numeros, et iniquo pondere lances
Obijcitis plebi.———
Præmia quæ tandem præter mucronis acumen,
Præter acus punctum ——
You Cittie-Vsurers which (incestuous) ioyne
Vse vpon vse, begetting coyne of coyne;
Loe here the guerdon of your grievous paine,
A needles point, a mote, a mite you gaine.
A nit, a not ing did you all possesse.
Or if then nothing any thing be lesse.
Battas.

(u) Victor ad Herculeas penetres licet vsq; columnas,
Te terræ cum alijs pars manet æqua tamen.
Mortu.

(*) *Math. Paris in Hen. 2.*

Æquat omnes cinis, impares natimur, pares morimur.
Seneca.

of earth, and this little Tombe now containes mee, whom the whole world before could not containe. So little a ſpot of earth was his portion, and ſuch a proportion is allotted to every man for his portion when death comes, and no more. Why ſhould *man be* (w) *proud then, duſt and aſhes*, Wormes-meate, a ſacke of dung and ſtercory; or why ſhould he Covet ſo much to adde to his Territories? ſeeing ſo little muſt in the end, and within a very ſhort time content him. Indeed if he well weighed that *Epitaph* of King *Edward* the fourth, made by *Skelton*, which I find inſerted amongſt the vnprinted Workes of *Lydgate*, he would be more modeſt in this kinde, which is in part as followeth.

I lye now in molde, as it is naturall;
That earth vnto earth haue the reverture:
What ordained God to be terreſtiall,
Without recourſe to earth of nature.

I had enough, and held me not content,
Without remembrance that I ſhould dye:
And more to increaſe was my intent,
Not being ware who ſhould it occupie.

I made the Tower ſtrong, and wiſt not why?
I knew not for whom I purchaſed Tartarſall.
I amended Dover in the Mount ſo high;
And London provoked to fortifie the wall.

I made Nottingham a place Royall.
(29) Winſor, *Eaton, and many odar more;*
As Weſtminſter, Eltam, and ſoone I went them fro all.
Et ecce nunc in pulvere dormio.

Where is now my Conqueſt and Victorie?
Where are my riches and royall array?
Where be my Courſers and Horſes high?
And where is my great pleaſures and play?
All as vanitie to nought is gone away.

(w) Quid ſuperbis homo
cujus conceptio culpa,
Naſci pœna, labor vita, neceſſe mori?
Vana ſalus hominum, vanus decor, omnia vana,
Inter vana nihil vanius eſt homine.
Poſt hominem vermis, poſt vermem fit cinis, heu, heu!
Sic redit ad cinerem gloria noſtra cinis.
Quid ſuperbis terra et cinis?
(inquit *Petrarcha*)
An non famoſiſſimum illud Homericum audiviſti?
Nihil miſerius terra nutrit homine.
Scire velim quid te horum potiſſimè invitat ad ſuperbiam? an fragilitas membrorũ, exercitúſq; morborum? an vitæ brevitas? an cæcitas animi? an præteritorum obliviò? an ignorantia præſentium & futurorum? an hoſtium inſidiæ? an mortes amicorum? an adverſitas perſeverans? an fugitiva proſperitas? *Petrarch.*

(29) *The Caſtle of* Winſor *did belong to the Abbot of* Weſtm: *vntill* Wil: *the Conq: cõpounded for it, and made it his royall place: in it was borne* K. Edw: *the* 3. *and in it were* Iohn *the* French King *and* David *King of* Scots *kept priſoners: and in it is celebrated the Honorable ſtitution of the Garter, which is no way inferior to the order of the* Annũciades, *foũded by* Amie *ſurnamed the* greene Earle of Savoy, *or to the Knights of the* Starre *by the* French K. Iohn, *or of his golden fleece by* Philip Duke *of* Burgundie, *or of Saint* Michael *by* Lewis *the* 11.

And

And my faire Lady Beſſe, long for me may you call;
How are we parted vntill doomes day?
Therefore loue yee the Lord that is eternall.
Where are now my Caſtles and Buildings Royall?
But Winſor of all, I haue no more;
(30) *Quia in Winſore in pulvere dormio.*

(30) *In the Chappell of Winſor are interred the bodies of King Henry the ſixth, of King Edward the fourth, of King Henry the eighth.*

Why ſhould man be proud, or preſume hie;
Saint Bernard *thereof doth notably treate:*
Saying, a (x) man is made of a ſacke of ſtercory.
And ſhall returne to Wormes meate.
What come of Alexander *the Great?*
Or of ſtrong Sampſon, *who can tell?*
Was not Wormes ordained them to freate.
Of Salomon *which was the wiſe;*
Of Abſalon *that was ſo beautifull:*
For all his beautie Wormes eate him alſo.
And I late in honour did excell;
Et ecce nunc in pulvere dormio, &c.

(x) Interroganti cuidam quid fui, quid ſum, quid ero; reſpondit divus Barnardus vile ſperma, vas ſtercorum, eſca vermium

Quid eſt homo niſi teſta fragilis, lutum ſolubile, pellis morticina, vas putredinis, fomes tineæ, cibus vermis?

Biſenſ.

So much and more hath (31) *Skelton* of K: *Henry* the 4. The *Gymnoſophiſts*, vpon whom *Alexander* doated ſo much, that he promiſed to giue them whatſoeuer they would demand; being deſirous to beate him from that greedie deſire of his of compaſſing the world, demanded of him immortalitie. Vnto whom *Alexander* anſwered, that they demanded a thing which was not in his power to giue, he was a mortall man, and that immortalitie was proper vnto the Gods to giue, and not vnto men. Which when the *Gymnoſophiſts* heard, they replyed, If thou be a mortall man, as thou ſayeſt thou art, why are thy thoughts ſo infinite and boundleſſe, that nothing but the world will ſatisfie thee? *Macedone* is a faire poſſeſſion, and thy forefathers lived contentedly with it. Why ſhouldſt thou inherite their poſſeſſions, and not their vertues? Remember that thou art a man,

(31) *Skeltonus* fuit vir lepidi & faceti ingenij, inter poëtas laureâ donatus, in et Rhetores regius factus orator, obijt 21. die Iunij Annº 1529. ſub H. 8. & tumulatus eſt in eccleſia Collegiata Sti Petri Weſtmonaſterij cum hac inſcriptione.

Iohannes Skeltonus vates
Pierius hic eſt ſitus.

a man, and that nature is contented with a little. When *Alexander* afterwards had compaſſed the world, and by reaſon of his victorious enterpriſes ſet himſelfe on high, and would be called a God, the (*) *Scythian Ambaſſadors* ſet vpon him, and told him, if thou be a God, as thou ſayſt thou art, remember thy ſelfe to be ſo; the Gods doe no wrong, they giue and take nought from any man. If *Alexander* could haue added yeares to his life, as he did Kingdomes to his poſſeſſions, he might well haue ſtyled himſelfe to haue beene a God; or if he could but haue aſſured himſelfe to haue attained to the age of his Forefathers, *Adam*, *Methuſelah*, or any of the Patriarkes that lived ſo long in the time of the old world; ſo that he might haue enjoyed what he attained vnto with ſuch perils and dangers, he might haue had ſome cauſe to haue gloried and triumphed in his many victories and Conqueſts, but ſeeing that in the midſt of his jollitie in *the* (32) *ſpring of his age*, when he ſhould haue reaped the fruits of them; he muſt with *Balthaſar* be taken off from them, it had been better for him never to haue known them, then having known them, ſo ſuddainely to leaue them; for a bondman that never knew what libertie was, it is nothing to liue in bondage; but for a (33) *freeman that never knew what it was to be debarred of libertie*, to be caſt into the Gallies, that is death vnto him; a poore man that never knew what riches were, but by report, can liue contentedly in want all his life time, but *miſerum eſt fuiſſe*; for him that hath beene rich, to be ſtript of his riches, that is torture and torment; riches and honors and preferments giue a (y) *grace and luſtre to a man*, whileſt he creepes vpon the face of the earth; but what availe they him in the day of death? the *poore man* then is in (z) *better caſe* than he; the poore man can goe freely to his grave without diſturbance, he hath taken no mans houſe, no mans ſervant, oxe or aſſe

(*) *Curt. lib. 7.*

(32) *Alexander* cùm multa inſolenter ſcripſit, ſeq; pro numine vellet propemodum adorari; *Babylonem* vbi veniſſet, febri, vel vt nonnulli tradunt, veneno fuit extinctus, cùm annorum eſſet triginta trium, & annos regnaſſet duodecim.

Skidamus.

(33) Nihil tam miſerabile, quàm ex beato effici miſerũ.

Cicero.

Turpiùs ejicitur quàm non admittitur hoſpes.

Ovid. Triſt. 5. eleg. 6.

Forth to be turned is greater ſhame,
Than if a man in never came.

(y) Per divitias vita & honos cõſervantur, quæ per inopiam pereunt. Vnde Poëta; Haud facilè emergunt quorum virtutibus obſtat
Res anguſta domi.——

Iuven. Sat. 1.

Sine opibus nuda eſt virtus, vt corpus ſine amictu, gladius ſine vagina, ſagitta ſine pharetra.

Petrarch.

(z) Ire, redire, ſequi ditum ſublimia Caſtra,
Eximius ſtatus eſt: ſed non ſic itur ad aſtra.
Raſtra & aratra coli et campi redolentia prata,
Exiguus ſtatus eſt, ſed ſic magis itur ad aſtra.

asse from him; he hath done the Country-man no wrong; he hath depopulated no Villages, nor pulled downe any Steeples; he hath done the Citizen no wrong; he hath Monopolized no Commodities, nor debarred him of any priviledges; he hath done the world in generall no wrong; for he hath lived according to the Lawes of God and nature; desiring little more than meate, drinke, and Clothes. But is it so with the rich? No; (a) *Mahomet is troubled with his exactions, when he should depart in peace.* Againe, (b) *a little Tree* falls to the ground without any noyse, but a great Oke that hath beene many yeares agrowing, cannot bê cut downe but it will giue a great cracke. A *poore man* (34) *steales out of the world,* and doth no harme when he goeth; but seldome dyes the rich man, but stormes and tempests, suits and contentions follow after. Againe, a poore man is a kinde of *a* (35) *Substantiue, as he stands by himselfe, so he falls by himselfe*; but the rich covetous man, is an *Adjectiue*, as he cannot subsist without others, so he cannot fall without others. Againe, a poore man that is not rooted in the earth, can bid adiew vnto it without a loath to depart; but it is not so with the rich man. *Cræsus* is so glued and nayled to his possessions, that he cannot be severed, or endure to heare of an *vltimum vale*, but with torture and torment; for it is impossible that those (c) *possessions* which haue beene gotten with so much trouble and travell, kept with so many cares and feares, should be left without a great deale of griefe and sorrow. So that the Case of the rich covetous man, is more despicable and miserable at the time of his (36) *departure out of this life*, than of a poore labouring Cottager & husbandman. Yet I must acknowledge when sicknesse, the messenger of death comes, that *Dives* in the opinion of the multitude, is more happie than *Lazarus*; but it is in the opinion of the multitude onely,

(a) Refert *Philip Commin:* Mahometem Imperatorem Turcicum nihil deplorâsse vehementiùs in Testamento suo quàm quòd subditos exactionibus gravârit.

Phil. Commin. lib. 6: cap. 13. in fine Cap.

(b) Vide Apologum de flosculo & quercu, quo ostenditur quantò maius est robur, & longius ævum, tantò dolor gravior.

Præclarè *Cicero*, nihil est longum in quo sit aliquid vltimum.

(34) Et cùm transierint exactæ tempora vitæ,
Concludit tacitos hic sine labe dies.

(35) Præclarum dei donum est paupertas: huius autem doni gratiam intellexit ille Senecæ nepos, referens securitatem animæ pauperis inter bella Civilia.

——O vitæ tuta facultas
Pauperis, angustiq; lares! ô munera nondum
Intellecta deûm, quibus hoc contingere muris,
Aut Templis potuit, nullo trepidare tumultu.
Cæsarea pulsante manu!

Lucan.

(c) Divitiæ quæsitu difficiles, custoditu anxiæ, amissu flebiles.

Petrarch. lib. 1. de rerum vtriusq; fort. dial. 53.

(36) Pauci divites moriuntur qui in exitu hujus vitæ non desiderant fuisse pauperrimi.

Blesens.

onely, in (d) *true judgement it is not so.* It is true, better attendance and more obſervance he hath, but it is better for him to be without them; for to what end doe they waite vpon him? Certainly, to none other, than the Crowes waite vpon a Carriers Hackney, or *Iockys* Palfry, that lies gaſping for breath vpon the road; that they may pull out his eyes, and prey vpon him. One waites vpon him for *Chremes* his ſake, and when he is readie to goe out of the world, puls him backe againe, & wiſheth him to remember his old Vncle *Chremes*, that hath been beaten with ſtormes and tempeſts, with croſſes and loſſes in the world. Another attends him for *Paſibulaes* ſake, & cryes remember, O remember *Paſibula* the faire *Paſibula*, your old vncle *Chremes* his daughter, that is come to womans eſtate, and wants a portion to preferre her in marriage: a third attends for *Davus* his ſake, and calls vpon him to remember *Davus*, his old ſervant *Davus*, that ſpent his youth and his beſt dayes in his ſervice, and now being old wants ſuccour and reliefe: a fourth attends to finde a fit opportunitie to ſpeake for himſelfe: every mans end and ayme is to get a fleece from him: no man waits vpon him for Gods ſake, or for any loue they beare vnto him. But is it ſo with the poor man? No; he is never troubled with any ſuch remembrancers, when death calls him, and ſickneſſe like vnto *Philips* Page, ſummons him with a *Memento mori*, he hath a free paſſage without diſturbance. We reade in hiſtories, that it is a Cuſtome in ſome (e) *Countries*, that when any man is condemned of any notorious Crime, to feaſt and fat him, that he may vndergoe and endure the greater torment; Even ſo doth God deale with the rich covetous man, he giues him riches as the (f) *wiſeman* ſaith, to his hurt, that when he is pleaſed to take either him from them, or them from him, his griefe and ſorrow may be the greater; for the more he hath, and the longer he hath kept them, the more vnwilling will he

(d) Beatior in ſua miſeria reputandus eſt pauper, quàm dives in opibus Sophiſticis, & gloria ſeductrice. Cumulus enim divitiarũ in cumulum miſeriarum tranſiturus eſt, quarum cruciatus ille impatientiùs ſuſtinebit qui diutiùs & delicatiùs huius vitæ deſiderabilibus aſſuevit ſe: illi in Evangelio qui ad refrigerium linguæ ardentis digitum Lazari poſtulabat, dictum eſt, recordare fili, quia recepiſti bona in vita tua, & Lazarus ſimiliter mala.

Pet. Bleſenſ.

Certè apud pauperem Chriſtum pretioſior eſt titulus pauperis, quàm divitis. Chriſtus pauper & pauperis virginis filius pauperes elegit in Apoſtolos, nec domum Regali introire dignatus eſt, ne honorare divitias videretur.

Bleſ.

(e) Mos Ægyptiorum fuit, vt illi de quibus ſumenda erat pœna, pridiè quàm darentur neci, cœnam ex regis menſa acciperent.

Plut. in Cleom.

Quem vſum Cæſaris temporibus invaluiſſe legimus.

Suet. in Domitiano.

(f) Datæ ſunt multis divitiæ in laqueum & capturam.

Eccleſ. 5. verſ. 13.

he be to leaue them. It is no trouble or cauſe of griefe for a man to abandon the ſocietie of him whom he never ſaw; but either on the high-way, or in a Common Inne, or in the Market-place; but to leaue a familiar boſome friend hopeleſſe to ſee him againe; for *Demas* to leaue this preſent world, or *Dives* his Mammon, and to be ſequeſtred into a dungeon of darkeneſſe and miſery, there to remaine throughout all eternitie, that is torture and torment: and this is the Caſe of the covetous man, for what can that man expect when he dyes, that never adored while he lived any other God than his (37) *goods*, or looked after any other Heaven than earth? certainly, nothing els, but eternall woe and miſery; ſo (38) *that miſerable in his life*, miſerable in his death, miſerable in his body, miſerable in his ſoule, and miſerable in his poſſeſſions, vpon which he ſo much doated, is the covetous man; for when death comes, he knowes not what to doe with it, keepe it he cannot, & leaue it he will not, faine would he carry it along with him, but his Conſcience tells him that in juſtice he is bound to leaue it behinde him, to make ſatisfaction for the many wrongs and iniuries he hath committed; faine would he then liue to make ſatisfaction, but the ſentence of death being paſt, dye he muſt, faine would he then dye, but dye he cannot; for on the one ſide ſtands the husbandman and diſturbes him, calling vpon him for ſatisfaction for the wrong done vnto him by depopulating of the Village wherein he lived: on the other ſide ſtands the Citizen and diſturbes him, calling vpon him for ſatisfaction for the wrong done vnto him, for Engroſſing of the Commodities whereby he was accuſtomed to get his liuing, round about him ſtand the poore, the fatherleſſe and the widowes, calling vpon him for ſatisfaction for the wrong done vnto them; ſo ſtanding diſtracted as it were, betweene life and death, at length death ſeizeth vpon him, and carries him out of the flame into the fire,

into

(37) Matrimonium inter aurum & argentum, eſt divortium inter Deum & animam. *Auguſt.*

Per mulas tribulationes intrant iuſti in gloriam Dei: divites cum multis cruciatibus acquirere ſibi gehennam ſtudent.

(38) Miſer eſt omnis animus vinctus amicitiâ rerum mortaliũ, & dilaniatur cùm eas amittit, et antequam eas amittit.

Auguſt. lib. 4. Confeſ.

Non tam iucundus in adventu, quàm moleſtus in deceſſu eſt cumulus bonorum.

into an (39) *habitation* prepared of old for such covetous oppressing people as he was, of the torture and torment whereof he had a kinde of taste and feeling beforehand.

Rustic: Sir, it should seeme then, that (40) *Aglaus* the poore Arcadian Cottager, whose thoughts never trespassed vpon his neighbours ground, nor his appetite vpon his neighbours store, nor his back vpon his neighbours flocke, contented with his little Cottage, his own provision, and the wooll of his owne sheepe, is in better Case than *Gyges*, who ruled and governed over *Lydia*.

Iurid: You know what (f) *Apollo's opinion* was long agoe, and certainely I am of his minde, that the poore man that hath but little, and hath gotten that little well, is in better Case than he that hath much, and hath gotten it by wrong and robbery; the nights affoord him more rest and the dayes more solace and comfort, the one is ever disquieted in his thoughts, and when he should sleepe he tumbleth and tosseth, and faine would he rest, but he cannot; one while he is affrighted with the dreame of (g) *Caligula*, that *Iupiter* with his great toe kickt him out of heaven. Another while with the fearefull apparitions of such whose houses he had ruinated and depopulated; one while againe the light of the Moone doth offend him; another while the darkenesse of the night doth terrifie him; the barking of the dogs, the crowing of the Cockes, and the yalling of the Cats must beare the burthen of his disquietnesse. Whereas in truth all is not well at home, a sicke Conscience he hath within him, which will not suffer him to take any rest. Whereas the other sleepes as (41) *securely* in the midst of the Ocean vpon a boord, as in a fetherbed vpon firme land, notwithstanding the sound of the Trumpet, the

(39) Avaritiam et rapinam redarguit *August.* proponẽdo supplicium: si in ignem mittitur qui non dedit rem propriam, vbi putas, mittendus est qui invasit alienam? Si cum diabolo ardet qui nudum non vestivit, vbi putas arsurus est, qui expoliavit?

(40) Eleganter Poëta;
Præstat supellex sobria.
Rectéq; parta recula,
Quàm rapta per vim divitũ
Fastidiosa copia.
Quod vulgariter exprimunt.
Cùm dat oluscula mensa minuscula, pace quieta;
Ne pete grandia, lautáq; prandia, lite repleta.

(f) *Gyges* Rex *Lydorũ* quæsivit ab *Apolline*, an aliquis se beatior inveniretur, cui ille *Aglaum* præferebat qui erat *Arcadum* pauperrimus, nec terminos sui agelli vnquam excesserat *Valer: lib. 7. cap. 1.*
Sensit *Alexander* testa cùm vidit in illa
Magnum habitatorẽ, quantò fælicior hic qui
Nil cuperet, quàm qui totum sibi posceret orbem!
In v: de Diogene.

(g) *Suet. in Caligula.*
Tumultus attonitus pectora quatit,
Penitúsq; volvit, rapior, sed quò nescio;
Sed rapior; Tonat dies serenus.
Senec. in Thyest.
O si pateant pectora ditium,
Quantos intus sublimis agit
Fortuna metusq;!
Senec. in Herculo Oetæo.
Vide *Tacit. Ann. lib. 6. cap. 1.*

(41) *Ecclesiast. 5. vers. 12.* Cespes Tyrio mollior ostro. Solet impavidos ducere somnos. *Senec. in Hercule Oetæo.* Illi blanda quies, dulcésq; sub arbore somni; Non suceo illecti, tardíq; papaveris haustu. *To summon timely sleepe he doth not neede, Ægypts cold rush, nor drowsie Poppie seede.*
The streames milde murmure as it gently rushes, His healthy limbes in quiet slumbes hushes.
Mens sana in corpore sano.

report of the Canon, and the raging of the roaring Sea; and why? Marry, becauſe he hath an honeſt true heart in a ſound and ſolide body. So that without doubt the night affords him more ſolace than it doth the other. When the day appeareth, the one is (42) *diſtracted* with a multitude of buſineſſes, & which to doe firſt he knoweth not; one while he goeth forth, & preſently he makes a ſtand, ſomething is left vndone which ſhould haue beene done before he came forth; anone after he better bethinkes himſelfe and goes forward, and is taken ſuddainely with a dropſie; thirſtie, exceeding thirſtie he is, but after what? after profit, pleaſure, and promotion, and nothing but his neighbours houſe, his neighbours wife, his neighbours (43) *goods, fortunes*, & preferments will quench his thirſt: whereas the other is never parcht with heate, or pincht with cold; never molten with a deſire of having, nor frozen with a deſpaire of not obteyning, he never lookes after *potentum ſuperba palatia, nec* (h) *formidata judicum ſubſellia, nec alicujus dedecus & ruinam*, the ſtately buildings of the mightie, nor to ſit as Iudge in the Conſiſtory, nor to rayſe himſelfe by the ruines of any; he knowes that nature is contented with a little, that the chiefeſt happineſſe is to enjoy God, and the beſt meanes to attaine thereunto is to deale with all men as he would be dealt withall, and to liue contentedly in that (i) *ſtate* and condition of life vnto which he is called, and therefore his chiefeſt care is *vt benè actam vitæ fabulam, pulchro fine concludat*; that he may liue and dye well: When dinner time appoacheth, the Table of the one is furniſhed with varieties of all kindes of dainties that the ſeaſon can affoord, and no attendants are wanting. *Circumſtant canes aulici, mureſq; domeſtici, & adulatorum turba*, but what is he the better for it; in the midſt of all he ſits like *Tantalus*, and is (k) *troubled* either with an extreame winde, or an extreame heate, or an extreame cold: either he is puft vp with a tympanie of

(42) Si cogitationes ejus eſſent venti, deſideria ejus aquæ, multò periculoſius eſſet in animo eius navigare, quam in alco mari.

(43) Cùm inter phyſicos quæſtio eſſet, quid præcipuè conferret oculorum perſpicuitati; cum alij fœniculi afflatum, alij vitri viſum dicebant, alijq; aliud. Actius rari vir ingenij & facetus, aiebat invidiam. Protuliq; ſtatim Ovidianos illos verſus;

Fertilior ſeges eſt alienis ſemper in arvis,
Vicinúmq; pecus grandius vber habet.

(h) Qui potiùs dubias tabularum pabula lites
Quàm moveat, mavult cedere iure ſuo.

(i) Quod ſis eſſe velis nihilq; malis
Summum nec metuas diem nec optes.
Mart. lib. 10. epiſt. 47.

Eſto quod es, quod ſunt alij, ſine quemlibet eſſe,
Quod non es nolis, quod potes eſſe, velis.
That man that true content would finde,
Vnto his fortune fits his minde.

(k) Nihil tam lautum, quod nauſea non reddit inſipidum. *Petrarch.*

Veſcuntur lautiùs, et veſtiuntur inſigniùs diviteſ quàm pauperes, ſed non vivunt meliùs nec diutiùs, nec lætiùs, & quod conſtat, nec ſecuriùs, nec honeſtiùs, certè nec ſanctiùs: pro his omnibus vnum habent quo excellunt, pompoſiùs, hoc eſt, ſtultiùs vivunt. *Petrarch.*

of pride and ambition, and is plotting of treasons, and rebellions, or inflamed with the heate of envie and malice, and is thinking how to enveigle and circumvent his neighbours; or is frozen with the cold of distrust and despaire of not effecting and bringing to passe, what he hath mischievously imagined and conceived, so that nothing will downe with him; one while he desires to taste of the Venison, but downe it will not, it is not seasoned or baked as it should be: another while he desires to taste of the Pheasant or Partridge, but they relish not with him, they are not rosted as they should be, the poore Cooke must suffer for it; when as *G. Low* when he did best, never did better; and when indeede there is no fault in him, but the fault is in the stomacke, occasioned by reason of the extreame winde, heate, or colde. Whereas the other appoints no set times for eating, when his stomacke serues him he falls to his meate, and when he is (l) *dry* he takes vp the Cup and drinkes, and not before, he never sends into forraine parts for Oliues and Capers to sharpen his appetite, all his care is to get provision at home to take away the edge of it: as for sawces he lookes not after them, better (m) *sawces than Spaine or Portugall* can affoord, he carries alwayes about him; his Table is like vnto the Table of (n) *Epaminondas*, and is seldome burthened with varieties, or with more than an individuall; he commonly hath but one dish, and if it chance a second to be added to make vp a number, it is a gawdie and festivall day; he feeds heartily, and is never troubled with *flatus hypochondriacus atra bilis* or *melancholia*; riseth contentedly, and goes about his worke chearefully; when dinner is done, the one betakes himselfe to his old trade, and his old diseases betake themselues to him; ever (o) *bibbing* he is, yet never satisfied, ever gaining, yet never hath enough, and so continues vntill Supper-time: the other likewise betakes himselfe to his trade, which is *inter musas & liberalia*

(l) ——cui ne fuit vnquam
Ante sitim potus, nec cibus ante famem.

(m) Optimum condimentum est fames.

(n) *The Table of* Epaminondas *never hatched treasons.*
Plutarch in Licurgo.

Insidiator abest mensis, nec lancibus aureis
Toxica decipiunt.
Nec circumstrepuit rauci clamoribus amens
Turba Togatorum.

In golden platters never doth be licke
For sweet Ambrosia, *deadly* Arsenicke.

(o) Ambitio est hydrops, cui non est terminus, is qui
Nunc plebeius erat, jam diadema cupit.

For which alas, the brother kills his brother;
The Syre his Sonne, the Sonne his Syre and mother;
The man his wife, the wife her wedded Peere;
The friend his friend; O what a hell is here.
Barton.

beralia ſtudia, & novarum rerum inventionem & veterum memoriâ tempus conſumere, to learne to liue and die well, and in this he continues all his life time; when Supper-time approacheth, the one betakes himſelfe to his accuſtomed *Crapulam*; his Table is furniſhed as it was at dinner, and the ſame attendants, with many more, Pipers, and Fidlers, and Singers, and Maskers, muſt then be had to make him merry; and Wine muſt be drunke in full Bowles; but alas, theſe affoord him no eaſe: the fire caſts a greater heate after that water hath beene caſt vpon it: the Ague taketh faſter hold vpon a man after he hath revelled vpon his good day; and the Current rageth more violently, after it hath beene ſtopt: (44) *pleaſures, delights, and jollities*, doe adde fuell to the fire, adminiſter materialls for the diſeaſe to feede vpon; and courage to the Current, to runne more ſwiftly: the wound putrifies and corrupts within, whileſt it is ſlubbered over, and made faire to the eye onely: and this is the Caſe of the Covetous man. The other likewiſe, he betakes himſelfe to his accuſtomed dyet, which is either to eate nothing with (45) *Plato*, or very little, according to the Rules of (46) *Galen* and *Hippocrates*, and which of theſe two is the happier man, judge you.

Ruſtic: Certainely, if I be Iudge, I muſt adjudge as all our Countrey doth (notwithſtanding any thing you haue ſaid to the contrary) the rich man to be the more happie man, for that every where, both in Countrey and Citie, he is cleped by the name of a good man, and is honored and reverenced, when the poore man is neglected and deſpiſed; and for evident demonſtration, I will tell you what I ſaw with mine eyes. Not long ſince being in the Citie, it was my chaunce to come into a Barbers Shop, where I beheld two men attending the Barber to haue his helpe for the cutting off their haire; the one was rich, and had his purſe full of Crownes, the other poore, and had not a penny in his purſe; the Barber

(44) Cantus, vinum, ſomnus, commotiunculas illas primas non rarò ſanâ unt iræ, doloris, amoris, at nunquam ægritudinem, quæ radices egit & fixit pedem. *Lipſ. lib. 1. de conſt.*

Vt medicamenta minùs valida non extrahunt humorẽ noxium, ſed movent; ſic vana hæc delectatio irritat in nobis fluctum libidinum & adauget. *Lipſ. ibid.*

Non domus et fundus, non æris acervus & auri,
Ægroto domini deduxit corpore febres.
Horat. lib. 1. Epiſt. 2.

Sincerum eſt niſi vas quodcunq; infundis acceſcit,
Sperne voluptates; nocet empta dolore voluptas.
Horat. ibid.

(45) Nullo modo mihi placet bis in die comedere, & bibere, dixit *Plato*.

(46) Ex magna cæna, ſtomacho fit maxima pæna:
Si vis incolumem, ſi vis te reddere ſanum,
Parce mero, cænato parùm.

Barber entertained them both, but with a great deale of difference, he that had the Crownes, had the fineſt linnen, the pureſt water, the ſweeteſt balls, the choyceſt powders, the ſharpeſt raſor, the keeneſt ſiſſers, and as much of his art as he could afford him; but he that came for Gods ſake, had no other linnen, than what he carried about him, his owne ſhirt to wipe his hands; no other water than what iſſued out of the Barbers mouth, he ſpat on his face, and with that water did he ſhaue his haire, and in ſtead of a raſor did he vſe a kinde of a ſaw, which did rather *deglubere* than *tondere*. So ſhaved him that *ad ſingulos tractus lachrymæ ex oculis vbertim manabant*; that water iſſued out of his eyes at every drawing of his hand. In ſo much, that a little dog that had beene beaten in the ſtreets, comming into the ſhop for refuge, the poore man thinking that he had ſhaved the dog as he had done him, becauſe he cryed ſo, demanded, *O canis num tu raſus es ob dei timorem*, alas poore dog, haſt thou beene ſhaven too? For if he had beene a dog, he could not haue beene vſed worſe than he was vſed. So that in my opinion, it is an eaſie matter to judge which is the more happie man, the rich man or the poore.

Iuriſp: The man you ſpeake of Sir, was a true (47) *Cut-throate*, and a *Iew*, no Barber, and I muſt confeſſe, amongſt the *Ieviſh* fraternitie in every place, *Iudas* with his bag, is better eſteemed than *Peter* that had neither gold nor ſilver. It is the familiar language I know of that fraternitie, to confound vertue and riches. He is a *good man*, ſaith the (P) *Broker*, when he meanes a rich man. But theſe men never knew where goodnes dwelt. Our forefathers in their Hierogliphicks, did vſually picture out the way vnto the Temple of honour, to be by the Temple of vertue; but this viperous generation hath dammed vp this way, and found out another way.

O Cives, Cives, quærenda pecunia primùm eſt,
Virtus poſt nummos.

(47) Odi hortulanum qui ab radice olera abſciadit: odi hominem qui pennas ita incidit, vt nequeant renaſci. *Lipſ. lib. 4. Pol.*

(P) *Cicero* ſæpè *Socraticam* exaggerat ironiam: viri boni in populo nuncupantur qui ſunt divites, etſi vitijs omnibus inquinati ſunt. *Pet. Orat. de auarit. vitanda.*

The golden way is now the way that leades vnto the Temple of honour.

Ruſtic: Certainely, the fraternitie of *Brokers*, as you terme them, are in the right; for in moſt parts of our Country, if a man haue no (*) *money*, let him be as juſt as *Ariſtides*, as learned as *Homer*, as valiant as *Hector*, as wiſe as *Salomon*, yet we value him not.

(*) Non me præterit (inquit *Petrarcha* ironicè) quæ nam eſſe ſolent avarorum monita ad liberos, ad amicos, ad contubernales: quantum ſit pecuniæ, tantum eſt nobilitatis & gloriæ: perditâ pecuniâ fidem perdidi.

Quantum quiſq; ſua nummorum ſervat in arca,
Tantum habet & fidei.

If we are rich enough, we haue credit enough, and can doe any thing we ſay; wherefore if at any time, wee meane to overcome an enemy in the field, we arme our ſelues with (*) *ſilver weapons*, which haue this power in them to peirce and make way through any Armour, be it Piſtoll, Musket, or Cannon-proofe, & to vanquiſh our enemies, though they doe exceede vs in multitude; as the *French* did the *Engliſh* at the Battell of *Poytiers* and *Creſſey*; by drawing them vnto vs, as the Sunne doth the vapors, and the fire the moyſture. Therefore if at any time wee beſiege a Citie, or any Hold or Fortreſſe, if we can but ſend an (q) *Aſſe loden* with gold into it, it will make way, though the gates be of iron, and the walls of braſſe. So that in the time of warre wee are confident, there is no ſuch weapon as money is, what ever it be in the time of peace.

(*) Argenteis pugna telis, ac omnia vinces.

(q) Omnia Caſtella hæc Machina deijcier, in quæ Aſinus auro onuſtus poſſit aſcendere. *Cicero.*
Hic, hæc, hoc, nummus, regina pecunia, & aurum.
Sunt tria quæ vincunt omnia
Nil tam munitum eſt, quod non expugnari pecunia poſſit. *Cicero.*

Inrid: It is an excellent weapon in the time of warre I muſt confeſſe, and that (r) *Alexander knew well*, who would at no time part with his readie money, but vnto his Souldiers: but how many haue wee heard of in the time of peace, whom their riches haue cauſed to haue beene made fooles vpon record; who otherwiſe might haue paſt for as wiſe men as their neighbours. How many haue we heard of, whom their eſtates haue brought into miſery and confuſion, and made their owne Children

(r) *Alexander* aurum & argentum raro cuiquam, niſi militibus dedit. *Lamprid. in Alexand.*

dren become their butchers and executioners? Doe we not reade of a Citizen of *Venice*, who being baniſht for a miſdemeanor, and Proclamation made, that whoſoever could bring his head, ſhould haue his eſtate, his ſon onely being made privie where he made his abode, to gaine his eſtate, became his executioner? Doe we not reade of *Viſlar*, a King of *Gothland*, who by his greedie Covetouſneſſe, having heapt vp an abundance of riches, and for that cauſe being had in Contempt of all men, that his ſonnes thinking he had lived too long, ſeized vpon his treaſure, ſet fire vpon his houſe, & burnt him, with all his familie? Doe we not reade that it was *Cræſus* great revenue that ſet *Cyrus* teeth on edge, and made his body indefatigable, vntill he had ſubdued him? Doe we not reade, that it was *Craſſus* proud ſpeeches (being the greateſt man of wealth in his time) that no man was worthy to be accounted rich, vnleſſe with his proper goods he could maintaine an Army; that drew the *Parthians* vpon him, and made them never to giue him over, vntill they had overcome him, and filled his mouth with gold, after which he ſo much thirſted? Doe we not reade againe, that it was the Covetouſneſſe of the *Iewes*, that cauſed twentie thouſand of them at a ſiege of *Hieruſalem* vnder *Veſpaſian*, to haue their bowells ript vp, and be maſſacred? And doe we not reade in *Diodorus Siculus*, of the Citizens inhabiting the Ilands in the *Spaniſh* Seas, to haue caſt all their treaſures into the Seas, fearing they might be motiues to draw a forreine enemy vpon them, or to make them fall fowle one vpon another? So that you ſee, the golden way is not alwayes the ſureſt and ſafeſt way.

Ruſtic: Though ſome haue periſhed in that way, and by their greedie Covetouſneſſe, haue pulled their houſes vpon their heads, yet, I hope, you will not blame that man that having a long journey to goe, maketh ſome proviſion to relieue him in his journey, & relyeth not wholly vpon fortune.

Iuriſp: Miſtake me not. I condemne him not; for as I hate to ſee an old man covetous, ſo I loue to ſee a young man provident. I cannot but commend him, who having a journey to goe, makes proviſion to ſuccour him in his journey: but for him that is at his journeyes end: for an (f) *aged Father*, whoſe head age hath dyed into a ſilver dye; whoſe teeth with age doe fall from him, as the leaues in Autumne from the trees; whoſe eyes with age are ſunke into his head; whoſe ſight is become dimme and darke; whoſe hearing with age is become thicke and hard; and whoſe body ſtands (*) *tottering* at the mouth of the pit, ready every houre to fall into it; for this man to make proviſion as if he were to goe as long a journey as *Methuſelah* went; that I condemne as a kinde of diſtruſt and diffidence in the providence of God.

Ruſtic: Sir, what would you haue a man doe, or how would you haue him liue?

Iurid: Goe to *Theol:* and he will tell you; it would be deemed preſumptiõ in me to vndertake ſuch a taske: Yet I will tell you freely, what I haue heard him ſay; If thou be a head of the Church, liue like thy ſelfe, as God hath placed thee in degree aboue others, ſo be thou in thy converſation, a light and lampe vnto others; keepe (*) *hoſpitalitie*; giue almes vnto the poore, and doe ſome deeds of charitie; it is thy dutie ſo to doe, for ſo much is enjoyned thee by the generall Councels, and by the ſacred Scriptures. Read over the generall Councell held at *Paris*, vnder thoſe two Emperors *Lewis* and *Lotharius*, in the yeare of our Lord 829; and there thou ſhalt finde, how that thy (e) *houſes* are not thine owne; but the houſes of the poore; and that if a lay-man entertaine one, two, or ſome few, he doth fulfill and keepe the lawes of hoſpitalitie; but vnleſſe thou giueſt entertainement to all, eſpecially to the poore and needie, thou doeſt not. Looke againe into the ſacred Scriptures,

(f) De ſenili avaritia quid efficatius dici poteſt quàm quod ait *Cicero*: poteſt quidpiam eſſe abſurdius, quàm *quò via minus reſtat, eò plus viatici quærere?* & profectò illud Senecæ; *nec multò opus nec diu*; cùm in omni ætate verũ in ſenectute veriſſimũ. *Petr: orat. de avarit. vitand.*

(*) *Pol* me detinuit morbus (inquit *Chremes* in Comœdia) rogas vnde? *ſenectus ipſa morbus eſt.*

Tertul. in Pborm.

Ante ſenectutem (inquit *Seneca*) curavi vt benè viverem, in ſenectute vt benè moriar.

Senec. Epiſt. 61.

(e) *Porta patens eſto, nulli claudaris honeſto*, ſcripſit quidam Prior liberalis in portam ſuam: cuius ſucceſſor mutavit punctum & ſcripſit:

Porta patens eſto nulli, claudaris honeſto; ſed propter vnum punctũ amiſit priorarum.

(t) *Epiſcopi domus* (vt ait *Hyeronimus*) *omni communis eſſe debet hoſpitum*; laicus aut vnum, aut duos, aut paucos recipiens, implebit hoſpitalitatis officium. Epiſcopus niſi omnes recipiat, inhumanus ab eo ſcribitur.

Scriptures, and thou shalt finde it to be thy dutie to be (d) φιλόξενον καὶ φιλάγαθον, a lover of hospitalitie and of good men; performe thy duty then, and thou shalt loose nothing by it; thou shalt haue good will amongst men, and honour and glory in heaven in the last day, when it shall be said vnto thee, *I was a stranger, and you received me.* If thou be a subordinate Minister, liue thou like thy selfe, puzle not thy selfe with the affaires of the (48) *world*; it is not sutable to thy profession; thou art a man of God, and every action of thine is an instruction to the people; how canst thou reproue vice in another, when thou thy selfe committest the selfe same thing? how canst thou say to the worldling and (e) *Covetous person, Lay vp your treasure in heaven, where the moth and Canker fret not, and where theeues cannot breake through and steale*; when thou thy selfe art ever groveling and poring vpon the earth? How canst thou say to the drunkard, leaue of thy drinking, when thou thy selfe delightest in no place more than in Tavernes and Taphouses? How canst thou say to the ambitious, desist from thy ambitious thoughts, whilest thou thy selfe thinkest thy selfe never (f) *high enough*, whilest another is aboue thee? How canst thou say to the contentious and malicious, desist from your malicious thoughts, whilest thou thy selfe livest in continuall strife & contention? How canst thou say to the fornicator, desist from thy fornication, when thou thy selfe livest in Adultery? These things, with many more, are put home vpon thee in that generall Councell. So that it is thy dutie to giue good Ensample, by a vertuous life and conversation; otherwise thou shalt (g) *pull downe* with one hand, what thou raysest with the other. If thou be a publike Magistrate, liue thou like thy selfe, now is the time to (h) *shew thy selfe*: if thou be vertuous, thy vertues will shine like the Sunne, and cast a greater lustre: if thou be vicious, thy vices will like a (49) *Contagion*, spread themselues among the

(d) 1 Timoth. 1. 3.

(48) Cùm honestatis Ecclesiasticæ speciale decus existit, à carnalibus longè fieri actibus alienum: his secularibus negotijs immiscere manus cælestibus negotijs deputatas, grave ac sordidum putamus. Vid. *Constit. Othobe in Linwo.* sub titulo, ne *Clerici jurisdictionem secularem* exerceant.

(e) Non potest dicere sacerdos amatoribus mundi, ebriosis, ambitiosis, contentiosis, rixosis & adulterionibus, futurum cogitate judicium, cùm ipse non formidat.

(f) Ambitioso quicquid est, quamvis amplum sit, id certè parùm est, cùm est aliquid ampliùs, cùm illi non quibus præsunt, sed à quibus præcedantur, inspiciunt.

(g) Semper nocentissimi omnium habiti qui *venenato exemplo*, seu morsu vipereo nocuerunt.

Petr. lib. 9. rerum senil.

(h) Non pectus vllius potest introspici vrbis magistratus priusquam gesserit.

Sophoc.

(49) Cùm semel impuræ fuerint in fontibus vndæ;
In fluvijs alias quis fore speret aquas.
Vt Capite ægroto sanos descendit in artus,
Morbus ———
Sic in rura nefas sese divulgat ab aula.

the multitude, defects in an emptie veſſell appeare not, but being filled with water, they quickly ſhew themſelues; pure gold cannot be diſcerned from baſe mettall, but by the touch; the yeares of thy Conſulſhip will like a touchſtone try thee, whether thou beeſt like *Cæſar* or *Bibulus*, actiue or idle, hoſpitable or Coueteous, good or bad, and the poore will be the Trumpets and Heralds to proclaime and ſound thy name and fame vnto the world. Exhauſt not then the common (*) *treaſure*, nor rayſe thy ſelfe by ruinating of the poore. If thou be a priuate man, liue thou like thy ſelfe, be not ſo eager after the poore vanities of the world, as if thou wert borne to no other end or purpoſe, but to rake and ſcrape together; nor yet ſo retyre thy ſelfe, as if thou wert borne onely to eate, drinke, and ſleepe: if God hath endowed thee with abilities of bodie and minde, ſhew the fruit thereof in thy life and converſation: Deſerts and ſolitary places are prouided for the Sauages, and the Cloyſters for (i) *Monkes and Fryars*; but for men of action, there are Cities and Villages prouided. It was a good and holy reſolution of *Hilarion*: *Hilarion* having caſt out a legion of deuills by the ſpirit of God out of *Orion*, *Orion* to ſhew his thankfulneſſe vnto him, would needs haue rewarded him with ſome gratuities, which *Hilarion* perceiuing, in ſome indignation asked him, whether he never read or heard what befel *Gehezi*? and when *Orion* ſtill preſſed him to accept of his gift, he made him this further anſwere; Why ſhould I that haue (50) *left mine own*, accept of yours: and when a third time, he preſſed him to accept of it, and to giue it to the poore; he anſwered, who ſhould better know how to diſpoſe of yours, than your ſelfe, and who ſhould better know who had moſt neede than you, who walke through the high wayes, and Cities, and Villages; as for my ſelfe, I liue in a Cloyſter, and what I doe I muſt doe by others; but you may make your owne eyes your overſeers.

(*) Nullum vitium (inquit *Cicero*) terrius quàm auaritia, præſertim in principibus, & rem publicam gubernantibus: habere enim quæſtui rem publicam, non modò turpe eſt, ſed ſceleratum, etiam & nefarium.
*Ciceroli*b. 2. *Offic*:

(i) Maxima virtutis laus in agendo valet. Magnanimi haud laus eſt minimè faciendo mereri; *Priuatum & Monachum* talia fortè decent.

(50) Nemo negligens in re ſua, præſumitur diligens in re aliena.

overſeers. This was a holy reſolution, and did well become this good man, becauſe he was a man of God, and had ſequeſtred himſelfe from the affaires of the world: but for a ſecular man, that ſhould be a man of imployment, to ſequeſter himſelfe from the affaires of the world, and to ſit Sunning himſelfe with the *Cynicke* all his life time, I cannot commend it in him. *Diogenes* was named by the name of a dog, and well he deſerved it, becauſe he would not endure the company of men. The ſentence of *Iupiter* was juſt vpon the ſnayle, when *Iupiter* had curteouſly invited the ſnayle, with the reſt of the creatures to a feaſt, when all other came, the ſnayle ſtayd at home; which *Iupiter* taking ill, would needs know wherefore he came not with the reſt of his neighbours: vnto whom the ſnayle returned this Anſwere; *Novi, Iupiter, nuſquam gentium delicias optabiliores, quàm domi*; certainely, my meate never reliſheth ſo well with me, as it doth at home: but he received a condigne puniſhment for his careleſſe neglect, becauſe he loved home ſo well, his puniſhment was that he ſhould never depart from home, but ſhould carrie his houſe vpon his backe. It was an vnſeemely anſwere which *Diogenes* gaue to *Alexander*, when *Alexander* was pleaſed to ſtoope ſo low as to come vnto him, and to tell him, that he vnderſtood he was in want, and that he was come to ſupply his neceſſities; he had not the manners to thanke him, but expoſtulates the Caſe with him, whether of the two wanted moſt, he that wanted but a (k) *ſcrip* or *ſachell*, or he that wanted Countries or Kingdomes? *Tyaneus* might well haue accepted the gift which *Veſpaſian* ſent vnto him, without any diſparagement, and forborne to haue given that Anſwer vnto him which he did, which was, that he would be pleaſed to turne his Curteſies another way, vpon the greedie and covetous, that looked after ſuch things, as for himſelfe he had enough, and looked after no more. For as to looke

(k) Vter noſtrùm plùs eget? ego, qui vltra peramnil deſidero, aut tu qui non es cótentus paterno regno?

looke after every thing is greedie Covetousnesse; so to looke after nothing is careleſſe wretchednesse: our desires therefore and affections, should be guided by the rules of reason and discretion; if they be dull, they should be quickned and rowsed vp with the thought of penury and necessitie; if they be too free, they should be curb'd and kept in with the thought of shame and ignominie; for as he cannot be but a poore man, and fall into misery, that having nothing cares for nothing; so he cannot be but a dishoneſt man, that having all things is contented with nothing: for him that hath but a little to refuse a reward from him that hath more, and can better spare it than he want it, it will be accounted folly or arrogancie in him; but for him that hath enough, to be catching and snatching from him that hath not, it will be accounted base covetousnesse & crueltie in him. An example of abstinence in this kinde wee may take from *Tamerlaine* without disparagement; *Tamerlaine* being told that a Countryman within his Territories had found much treasure, he caused the same to be brought vnto him, which he perusing and finding by the effigies and inscription, that it was the Coyne belonging to the *Romanes*, and not the proper Coyne of his Country, he caused the same to be delivered backe againe; saying, What God had sent vnto him, he would not take from him: the poore man had neede of it, and therefore was it given him. The like patternes may we take from divers others. When *Dionysius* vnderstood of a great rich man that had much treasure, and put it to no other vse than the (1) *Athenians* did, he caused his house to be ransackt, and a great part of his treasure to be taken from him; which when the rich man saw, he was at his wits end, and being desirous to know what offence he had committed that he should be so vsed; it was told him, that *Dionysius* tooke it ill that he should hord vp his treasure, and put it to no vse, he having daily

Plutarch. in Dionysio.

(1) *Anacharsis* olim scitè de *Athenienſibus* dixit; nummis eos vti duntaxat ad numerandum.

daily occasiō to vse it: which when the rich man heard, fearing the rest might goe the same way, he began to bestirre him, to buy and sell, trade & trafficke, and no man was then more actiue than he; of which when *Dionysius* was given to vnderstand, he sent him his treasure backe againe, and withall sent him word, that it was not his money which he lookt after, but to let him know, that money was therefore Coyned that it might be vsed, and that silver and gold doth loose its lustre and beautie when it is horded vp. (m) *Philip of Macedone* having overcome the *Athenians*, one night after Supper asked this question of the wise men that attended him, what they thought to be the greatest thing in the world; one answered, the water, because a man may see more of that than of any other thing; another answered, the Sunne, because it did enlighten both heaven and earth; a third, the mountaine *Olympus*, because it did extend it selfe aboue the Clouds; a fourth, the Giant *Atlas*, vpon whose sepulchre the fearefull Mountaine *Ætna* was founded; a fifth, the Poet *Homer*, who was so much honored both in his life and death, that seaven Cities waged warre for his bones a long time, as sacred reliques; but the wisest of them all concluded, that *animus magna despiciens*, a minde despising the world, and the vanities thereof, is the greatest of all. (n) *Plato* who had beene in his youth an active and stirring man in the world, and was experienced as well in mechanicall trades and occupations, as in civill and military government, being requested by a familiar friend of his, to tell him in what Course of life he found the greatest contentment, gaue him this answere in effect; not in coveting after honors and preferments, because they are accompanied with perils and dangers, not in gathering riches and treasures, because they are attended with cares and feares, not in pleasures and vaine delights, because they quickly vanish and fade away. *Ego nun-*

(m) *Gueverra.*

(n) *Gueverra.*

quam tam benè contentus fui, quàm eo tempore quo negotijs civilibus relictis ad libros meos veluti bonos socios vitæ meæ reverti, I never received so much contentment in any thing as in looking over my Bookes in my studie. *Charles* the fifth, a puissant and a mightie Prince, of whose magnanimitie the *Antipodes* were sensible, having past the blustering time of his youth, and composed all the differences between him and *Francis* the first, contemplating the vanitie of the world, forsooke all, (o) *resigned* his Kingdome to *Philip* his sonne, and his Empire to his brother *Ferdinand*, and betooke himselfe to a Cloyster, taking foure servants onely along with him, to waite vpon him. *Aristarchus*, a man of great account among the *Thebanes*, was vsed to say, *Quid optes, aut quid fugias nescis, ita ludit tempus*; What a man should desire, or what a man should eschew, he knew not, times were so fickle, and therefore his resolution was, if he could but get a little meate and drinke, and a few Cloathes, he would be there with content. *Diocletian* and *Maximinian*, brothers rather than Copartners in the Empire, so lovingly did they liue and rule together, voluntarily laid downe their Crownes both in a day, and betooke themselues to private liues. The (p) *seaven wise-men* of *Greece*, one after another refused the golden Table that was taken vp by the Fishermen of *Coo* in *Milesia*: the Case was thus; a certaine man having bought the next draught that should be taken vp by the Fishermen; it fell out, that in the draught there was a golden Table taken vp, and to whom it should belong, grew a question: the Fishermen pretended that it did belong to them, for that they affirmed they sold but the Fish that should be taken; the buyer pretended that it did belong to him, for that he affirmed he bought whatsoever should be taken in the next draught: whereupon by Consent the matter was referred to *Apollo* to be decided; who to put them both out of strife did adjudge

(o) *In the yeare* 1565. *on the* 20*th of* Octob. Charles *the fifth resigned the Kingdome of* Spaine *to* Philip *his sonne, with great Ceremonie at* Brussell. *The yeare following, on the* 7*th of* Septemb. *he resigned his Empire to* Ferdinand *his brother, and betooke himselfe to a Monasterie neare to* Placentia, *in the Province of* Estremadura.

(p) *Plutarch. in Solone.*

judge it to the wiſeſt man of *Greece*, and ſo by a generall Conſent it was given to *Thales*, but *Thales* would none of it, but put it off to *Bias*, *Bias* refuſed it, and put it off to *Pyttacus*, *Pyttacus* to another, and he to another, vntill at length it came to *Solon*, *Solon* reſigned it to *Apollo*, and deſired him to diſpoſe of it to ſome other; for that he tooke no pleaſure in it. Theſe men thought them to be moſt rich, that were endowed with moſt wiſedome, moſt patience, moſt temperance; vertues that could adde yeares to their dayes, and prolong their lives; as for gold and ſilver, they did in ſome ſort neglect, as things which were attended with cares and feares; enemies to the life of man: all the glorious outſides, the delicious dainties, and all the vaine pompe and glory of the world they contemned and derided: how did (q) *Epicurus* that hath beene ſo notorious for a belly-god in all ages of the world ſince his time liue? did he liue, as *Sardanapalus* did vpon the egges and heads of Partridges, Popingaies, Pheaſants, and Peacockes? No: his ordinary food was bread & water. How did *Crates* and *Antiſthenes* liue? did they not contemne and deſpiſe the glory of the world, and betooke themſelues to a ſtaffe and wallet: how did *Phocion*, *Pelopidas*, *Socrates*, *Ephialtes* liue? did they not write (*) *inſcriptions* in a Temple at *Thebes* againſt King *Menim*, for inducing delicacies into the Cities? did they not condemne the *Ionians*, that induced *peregrina obſonia & gulæ noviſſima irritamenta*, ſecond Courſes into the world? and did they not make (*) *Lawes*, which they called *leges Cibarias*, and which *Cato Cenſorius* called *ſumptuarias*, for the regulating of exceſſe in meates and drinkes? and did not *Gallen* and *Hippocrates* learnedly Comment vpon thoſe Lawes, and plainely demonſtrate, *Eos Athletas quorum vita & ars ſagina eſt diu vivere non poſſe*; thoſe belly-gods that place their happineſſe in their throates, can neither haue ſoundneſſe in their bodies, or ſanctitie in their ſoules?

Omnia contemnere aliquis poteſt, omnia habere nemo poteſt: breviſſima ad divitias per contemptum divitiarum via eſt.

Senec. Epiſt. 62.

(q) Epicurus ſummus voluptatis aſſertor, aqua et polenta victum quæſivit, non quòd voluptates averſaretur, ſed quod in tenui victu ſe plus voluptatis reperire arbitrabat.

Alexand. ab Alexand. lib. 3. cap. 11.

(*) *Alexand. ab Alexand. ibid.*

(*) *This Law* Octav. Cæſar *put in execution.* Suet. in Octav. Cæſar.

And did not the (r) *Sicilian Tyrant* forfeit his eyes, for tranſgreſſing and infringing of thoſe Lawes? And were not thoſe men and women generally in moſt eſteeme among them, that voluntarily ſubmitted themſelues vnto them, and thoſe in moſt contempt that diſobeyed them, and gaue themſelues over to gluttony and drunkenneſſe? how did they liue in many parts of the world, before the vſe of Corne was knowne? did they not liue vpon (51) *Acornes*, and vpon ſuch things as the Earth brought forth naturally? What habitatiõs had our wiſe aged Fathers in anncient times, the Philoſophers and learned men of the world? or in what houſes did they liue? did they not liue as the *Tartars* doe, and as many of the Inhabitants of the Kingdomes of *Feſſe* and *Morrocco* doe at this day, in Tents built vpon Plaines, moouable at their pleaſure? They built not their (*) *houſes* vpon the tops of hils like vnto *Pyramides*, rather to catch the eyes of paſſengers, than to feede their bellies: their houſes were more for vſe than for ornament, and were furniſhed with ſuch materialls as the noble Duke in the Courtier preferred before his rich hangings of Arras and Tapſtrie, and his veſſels of gold and ſilver, that is, with Libraries of Greeke and Latine Bookes, contayning varietie of all kinde of learning: where they might converſe with Kings and Princes, and with ſuch of all profeſſions as had beene moſt famous in their generations in the knowledge of all Arts and Sciences, at all houres in the day: with ſuch Vtenſels were their habitations adorned. What Clothes did they weare? their Clothes likewiſe were not ſo (f) *curious and effeminate*, as to dazle the ſences of ſilly women: yet not greaſie, and like an *Almanacke* out of date, but ſubſtantiall, to keepe off the parching heate of the Summer, and the pinching colde of the Winter: their dyet was not ſo daintie, as to adde fuell to their luſts, but ſuch as did ſatisfie their hunger, and quench their thirſt: they feaſted con-

(r) Nil magis prædatur oculos quàm ingluvies ventris. *Dionyſius* ille teterrimus Sycilię tyrannus, dum gulæ vacaret, oculos perdidit.
Iuſtin. lib. 2.

Seneca taliter obiurgat gulosos. Taurus (inquit pauciſſimorum iugerum paſcuis impletur, vna ſylva Elephantis plurimis ſufficit; homo & aerrâ paſcitur et mari; quid ergo tam inſatiabilem nobis natura aluum dedit, cùm tam modica corpora dediſſet, vt vaſtiſſimorum, edaciſſimorúmq; animalium aviditatem vinceremus? minimè.
Senec. Epiſt. 60.

(51) Mortales primi ructabant gutture glandem.

(*) Non tam latè habites, ſed quàm lætè requiritur ad beatam vitam: ſæpè vel in palatijs regum labor dolórq; habitant, & in tugurijs pauperum quies & gaudium.
Petrarch.

(f) Ea ſit veſtitus conſideratio, vt nec nimiùm diſſolutus ſit, quod eſt ruſticitatis, nec nimiùm mollis, quod eſt inconſtantiæ, et levitatis: vtrúmq; extremum fugiendũ. Siquidẽ *Diogenes* perſpiciens Rhodios perelegantes, hìc (inquit) faſtus eſt; rurſuſq; Lacædæmonios ſordidos, hìc alius faſtus; rurſus idem Cynicus mundities Platonis calcans, Platonis faſtum calco inquit, cui ille, ſed alio faſtu.

continually, but their feasts did not consist of varietie of dishes, but of varietie of dainties; and happie was that man that could be admitted thereunto; there was no greedie *Philoxenus*, that to please himselfe would displease his neighbour; nor no man there did eate to please his palate; every mans desires were to haue his eares more expanse, that he might heare more, and his memorie more strong, that he might beare away more: there were never two hands in a dish, nor two tongues walking together, whatsoever was spoken was spoken without interruption, and no man would proffer to beginne before the first had made an end, or to disturbe the speaker: merry they would be often and jesting, but their jests were without offence, (t) *elegant, facetious, and voide of scurrilities*, obscænities, and effeminate ribaldry; invectiues were not heard of amongst them, vnlesse they met with oppression, extortion, bribery, corruption, and the like. These vices they lanct to the depth: and *Iuvenall* was not so jerking as they were then. These feasts were instituted for the Continuance of friendship and familiaritie betweene them, and in requitall of Curtesies which past betweene each other, and the guests were regularly *sophi & philosophi*, sober, discreete, wise men, no *combibones*, pot-Companions, rumor raysers, or tale-tellers were hitherto admitted; but if they could fill vp the musicke, beare a part in the Consort, and end a Comedie with some wittie Apophthegme and Conceit, they were welcome guests: their Entertainments generally were such as King *Edward* the third gaue to Sir (u) *Eustace Rabamont*, the *French* Knight, at the winning of *Callis*; free and noble, and beyond expectation; and the prime dishes and dainties of their (*) *Feasts, were wisedome, temperance, justice, fortitude*, and the like. Of which every one tasted, yet seldome or never but of one dish at one time. Sometimes wisedome was preferred, vpon which every one fed liberally, as vpon a receipt as

(t) Semper hæc ingenuis libertas permissa est, vt in commune hominũ bonũ sibus luderẽt impunè, modò ne licentia exiret in rabiem; lusit hoc in genere divus Hieronymus, lusit *Eliah* Propheta in Idololatriæ cultores. 1 *Kings* 18. *v.* 27. & *Esay*. Propheta. cap. 44. *v.* 16.

Veteres dixerũt duplicẽ esse salẽ nempè Mercurij et Momi; salem Merc: appellarunt facetias lepidas quibus non nocemus alijs: salem Momi vocârunt dicteria quibus mordicamus alios.

Scurrilitas est vitium, quò in iocando modum excedimus, nullâ habitâ ratione aut loci, temporis, aut personarum.

Omni studioso lusus est necessarius: nam sicut fatigatio corporis remittitur per quietem corporalem; sic fatigatio mentis per delectationem in ludo, quæ est quasi quies animæ.

(u) *At the taking of* Callis *the King was stricken twice vpon his knees by this Knight, but in the end the King tooke him and diuers other Knights prisoners, and beyond his expectation most royally feasted him, and graciously set him at libertie, and gaue him a Cloake beset with pearles from his owne head, by which his clemencie he drew his very enemies vnto him.*

In this warre the King served vnder the banner of Sir Walter Mannie, *and (as my Author saith) greater honour did Soveraigne never doe to subiect.*

(*) Convivium philosophicum.

as could in a ſort antidate their dayes, and giue them an effence and being with the holy Patriarkes, Prophets, and Evangeliſts, with the reverend Fathers & Doctors of the Church, and with the learned Naturaliſts and Moraliſts of the world, that were departed in peace to their graves long before their great Grand fathers were borne; by telling them how they lived, and how they dyed; that by their examples they might prudently husband the time preſent; amend and reforme what had beene amiſſe in times paſt, and carefully provide for the time to come. Sometimes Temperance was preferred, vpon which every one taſted liberally likewiſe, as vpon a Cordiall that could adde yeares to their lives, and prolong their dayes; vnto which every mans purſe would not (w) *extend*. Sometimes Iuſtice was preferred, which they did compare for goodneſſe vnto the Sunne in the firmament, vnto the ſoule in the bodie, to the rule of life, affirming there was no ſuch Current to water a dry and thirſtie land, no ſuch bond to vnite and tye man to man as this was, without which no (x) *Citie*, ſocietie, or Common-wealth could ſubſiſt. Sometimes Fortitude was preferred, which they did compare vnto a Minerall, more ſoveraigne than that *aurum potabile*, of which the *Paracelſians* make ſo much vſe of, that in times of greateſt danger can affoord them eaſe and comfort, animating them patiētly & couragiouſly to vndergoe that wch they could not neceſſarily & conveniently avoyd. (y) *Secrecie* likewiſe they highly eſteemed, eſpecially in things agreed vpō at their ſolemne feaſts, for the good and welfare of their Cities; they knew well that a little vent in a veſſell is able to deadē the ſtrongeſt wine; a little hole is enough to drowne the mightieſt Ship; and a babling tongue able to overthrow the greateſt deſignes. Wherefore in matters agreed vpon at their ſolemne meetings, they were as ſecret as *Peter* King of *Arragon*, who being demanded by Pope *Martin* the 4th, what

(w) Cuiuſlibet edere et bibere eſt, ſed cum modo et menſura id paucorum eſt.

(x) Quid ſunt regna niſi latrocinia remotâ juſtitiâ, quæ eſt legum effectus. *Auguſtin.*

(y) Non inutile Conſilium, cave ne cui hæc dixeris; nam omne arcanum vnitati comparatur, quæ ſi progreditur ad binarium, tunc ad multitudinem vergit, et ſeſe multiplicat: eóq; *Alexander Eſtheſtioni* obſignavit os.

Quis ſimilis cribro? futilis omnis homo.

Altiſſima quæq; flumina minimo ſono labuntur. *Curt.*

Vetabo qui Cereris ſacrum Vulgârit arcanæ. *Horat. lib.* 3. *Od.* 2.

It was no meane commendation that Spintharus *gaue of* Epaminondas, *that he never knew any that knew ſo much and ſpoke ſo little.*

what he meant to doe with that great Fleete he had provided, answered that if he did but know his shirt did know it, he would cast it off. (z) *Vnitie* and amitie likewise they much esteemed, and supposed their Cities never to be better fortified, than when the people were at vnitie amongst themselues. Wherefore if any one had beene contentious, they did esteeme him as an alien, not as a Citizen, and studied how to disburden their Cities of him; they knew well, that one scabbie sheepe in a flock, is able to do more harme to those that are whole, than twentie Shepheards could doe good to the diseased; that one infected man in a pestilentiall sickenesse, was able to doe more hurt to those that were sound, than the whole Colledge of Physitians could doe good to those that were infected; that one ill-affected member in a Citie, that knew the secrets and private passages thereof, was able to doe more harme vnto it, than the whole Councell could doe good. Wherefore if they could not reclaime such a one, they endevoured by all meanes to remooue him. Sometimes liberalitie and affabilitie were preferred, which they did commend as (a) *rarities*, and did compare them vnto Iewells that could giue a grace and lustre vnto the most deformed bodies, and vnto attractives, that were more powerfull to draw the hearts of the people vnto them, than the Adamant to draw the yron. Sometimes (b) *advice and Counsell* was preferred, which they did compare vnto Salt, seasoning all things; that was first set on, but last taken off the Table; to the heart in the bodie, being the first thing that liues, the last that dyes; to a benediction, that in all services hath the first and last place; to a cup of Nectar and Ambrosia, that warmes and prepares the stomacke before meate; and to a well-made Conserve that closeth vp the stomacke after meate, so that where this was wanting, bread, beere, salt and spoones, and all things were wanting. Pittie and compassion was in great request among

(z) *Vnitie and amitie most necessary in a common-wealth.*
Plutarch. in Solone.
Non sic excubiæ nec circumstantia tela,
Quàm tutatur amor. *Claud.*
Hoc eleganter exprimit Scilurus in fasciculo jaculorum. Scilurus, qui filios relinquebat octoginta, cùm mortiturus esset, fasciculum jaculorũ singulis porrexit, jubens vt frãgerent eum; cùm id eorum possit nemo, ipse iacula singula extrahens, omnia cõfregit; docens illos, si cõcordes essent, permansuros validos, imbecilles evasuros si essent dissociati & distracti.
Plut. in regum Apophth.
Cùm pugnant singuli, vincuntur omnes. *Tacit.*

(a) *See the effects of liberalitie, excellently set forth by* Chawcer *in his Booke entituled* the Romant of Rose.
Pecuniã dare cuiusl bet est, sed dare cum distinctione personarum, loci & temporis, id paucorum.
Affabilitas et Comitas sunt nullius impendij, amicitias tamen magnas conglutinant exhibitæ, dissoluunt prætermissæ.

(b) Magnum ornamentum principi est coronã lonum & Cordatorum Consiliariorũ cinctum esse. *Lamprid.*
Thales si voler, Rex esto; tamen si de tua ipsius sententia omnia geres, superbum hunc judicabo, magis quàm sapientem. *Lxv.*
Principem bonũ faciunt plerúnq; boni Consiliarij ideò testatur *Lamprid.* tolerabiliorem reipub: statum esse, vbi Princeps malus, et Consiliarij boni, quàm vbi Princeps bonus & Consiliarij mali. Siquidem vnus malus à plu-

rimis bonis corrigi poteſt; multi verò mali ab vno, quantumvis bono, ſuparari non poterunt.

Lamp. in Alexand.

(c) Cuivis accidere poteſt quod cuiquam poteſt.

(d) Non ignara mali, miſeris ſuccurrere diſco. *Virg.*

Ipſe iubet ſummi Rex et moderator Olympi,
Semper vt alterius perferat alter onus.
Nec magis in toto qu'equâ reotorbe ferinum;
Quàm miſerum læta mente videre premi.

(*) *Chawcer.*

mong them, they knew well that what befell to (c) *any one*, might befall to every one, and therefore with (d) *Dido* in the Poet, they had a fellow-feeling one of anothers miſery. Contentions there were often amongſt them, but they were ſuch as are moralized in the Engliſh Poet in his (*) *Franklyns* tale. Every one ſtriving with all his might and power to exceede each other in the doing of Curteſies, and performing of friendly offices one to another, who ſhould be moſt hoſpitable, and make more invitations? who ſhould entertaine moſt neighbours, and relieue moſt poore? who ſhould compoſe moſt ſtrifes, and be moſt readie to make peace betweene ſuch as were at variance? who ſhould be moſt forward to vndertake a commendable and worthy atchievement, and moſt backward to attempt a diſhoneſt action? moſt readie to patronize the good, and moſt ſlow to ſupport the evill: moſt wiſe to finde out the ſubtiltie of the oppreſſor & extortioner, and moſt ſimple to offer the leaſt wrong to the innocent: in a word, who ſhould be moſt obſervant of that golden Rule of Moralitie, not to offer that to another which he would not haue done to himſelfe. (e) *Matters of ſtate* they lookt not after; they knew they were ſtanding & reſerved diſhes, which *Alexander* had provided for his owne palate, and commanded that no man vnder the degree of *Craterus* & *Epheſtion*, ſhould preſume to prie into them, vnleſſe they would incurre the danger which the men of (f) *Bethſhemeſh* did in prying into the Arke; and therefore with the wiſe Senators of (g) *Tiberius*, they did oftentimes profeſſe they had dined and ſupped when their ſtomackes were emptie; becauſe they would not haue *Tiberius* haue the leaſt ſuſpicion of them, that they gaped after the diſhes which he had reſerved for his owne palate. Prodigalitie they cared not for, they knew well that though it did delight the taſte, and tickle the palate, yet it engendred nought but corrupt, wateriſh, and melancholike bloud, which would

(e) Nihil vtilius eſt quàm res regum non intelligere: vnde celebratur dictum *Philippidis Comici*; Hic à Lyſimacho rege liberaliſſimè tractatus, & rogatus quam fortunarum regiarum partem vellet ſibi cõmunicari? reſpondit, participẽ me facias quocũq; volueris, me dò ne ſecreti alicuius.

Non inutile conſiliũ Poëtæ;
Arcanum non tu ſcrutaberis vllius vnquam:
Commiſſúmq; tege: et vino tortus et ira.

Horat.

(f) 1 *Samuel* 6. *verſ.* 19.

(g) Patribus vnus metus ne intelligere viderentur quod vellet *Tiberius*.

Tacit. lib. 1. *cap.* 4. *annal.*

Vide Apologum de vulpe gravedinoſa.

would quickly waſte and fade away; and therefore this ſaying went Currant amongſt them, as nothing can ſauour of greater intemperance, than for a little pleaſure which vaniſheth in the throate, to adventure the health of the whole body; ſo nothing can ſauour of greater (h) *madneſſe and folly*, than to waſte an eſtate to be accounted a braue fellow for a ſhort ſeaſon, when he ſhall be accounted a foole ever after. Oſtentation they lookt not after, they knew it to be a meate that would ſet the whole bodie on the Tenters, and produce nothing but noyſome and ill-ſmelling ſauours; and therefore aptly compared it to winde in the belly, which being evacuated, becomes vnſauoury to every one but (i) *to him that vented it.* So that if at any time they met with a Rothomontatho, ſuch a one as *Caſtilio* hath well ſet forth in his Courtier, that would be talking of Armes vnto Ladies, every one ſtopt his eares, as they did vſe to doe their noſtrills againſt ill-ſmelling ſauours; for they did vſe ever, rather to aſſume too little with *Cato*, than too much with *Thraſo* to themſelues; they delighted not to garniſh and ſet forth their diſhes with leaves, words they compared vnto leaues, which had their (k) *bloſſomings* and buddings, their ripenings & fallings, and were ſubject to be blowne away with every winde; and therefore in a ſtile that the meaneſt Capacitie might vnderſtand them, not in tropes and figures, riddles and obſcurities, or in phantaſticke orpedanticke termes, did they expreſſe themſelues. Sloth and idlenes they did eſchew as two dangerous rockes and gulfes, that would daſh them in peices, and ſwallow them vp quicke, without leaving any manner of remembrance behinde them. Hatred and inteſtine malice never came in in any ſeruice, but was as lothſome as Swines fleſh to the *Iewes*; If any offence had beene given that was not of an high nature, ſubmiſſion was ever held a ſufficient ſatisfaction.

(h) Subitæ largitionis comes pœnitentia: nimis hauriendo fontem ipſum exhauris; & liberalitate liberalitas perit.
Lipſ. lib. 2. polit. cap. 17.

(i) Suus cuiq; crepitus bene olet.
Laus in proprio ore ſordeſcit.
By the Law of Armes a Braggadocia is branded with a diminution in his coate: a poynt dexter, paried Tenne is due vnto him.
Res ipſa loquatur, nobis taacentibus.
Seneca.
Non ſua laudabit ſtudia, aut aliena reprender.
Horat.

(k) Vt ſilvæ foliis pronos mutantur in annos,
Prima cadunt; ita verborum vetus interit ætas.
I know that in forme of ſpeech is change,
Within an hundred yeares, and words tho
That had deſerv'd price, now wonder nice and ſtrange.
Chawcer.
Melius eſt (inquit *Auguſt.*) vt reprehendant nos Grammatici, quàm non intelligant populi: ideóq; maluit dicere os oſſi quàm os oſſis, vt facilius intelligeretur.
Auguſt.

(l) *You Kings that beare the sword of iust hostilitie,*
Pursue the proud, and pardon true humilitie;
Like noble Lyons that doe neuer shew,
Their strength and stomacke on a yeelding foe. Bartas.

Posse, & nolle, nobile.

Parcere subiectis, et debellare superbos;

Semper in bellis iussit *Cyrus*.

(m) At lupus, et turpes instant morientibus vrsi.

(n) Aulicus interrogatus qua arte in magnatum cultu cõsenuisset, respondit, iniurias ferendo et gratias agendo.

(o) *Sueton. in Augusto.*

Optima iniuriæ vltio est obliuio.

The Asse that beares the burthen, must haue leaue to bray vnder it; was the answere of Francis *the first, to certaine Courtiers, who moued him to punish some* cõmon *people, that spoke irreuerently of him.*

Nobile vincendi genus est patientia, vincit
Qui patitur, si vis vincere, disce pati.

(p) Tiberius *vpon a time hearing certaine persons speaking irreuerently of* Augustus, *acquainted him therewith: to whom* Augustus *answered, let it not trouble you* Tiberius, *that any man speaketh ill of vs; it is sufficient that no man is able to doe vs harme.*

Sueton: in Augusto.

Verissimum est, quòd regium est audire malè cum facias benè. *Plut. in regũ Apoph.*

(q) Irisuaues ad omnem vitæ consuetudinẽ, supercilioſi et caperatâ fronte magistri.

(52) *See* Avarice *excellently described by* Chaucer *in his*

(l) *Corpora magnanimo satis est prostrâsse Leoni;*
Pugna suum finem, Cùm jacet hostis, habet. Ovid.

The Lyon is as kinde to those that yeeld, as cruell to his foes; but (m) *Wolues and Beares*, nothing will satisfie but bloud, bloud; they accounted it the greatest glory for them that could be, to deserue that Encomium and noble testimony which *Tulley* gaue of *Cæsar*, to haue a memory neuer to forget any thing but (n) *iniuries*. *Augustus* his (o) *moderation* by which he drew his very enemies, the *Indians* and *Scythians* vnto him, they had in great admiration; for with this they alwayes cured the venemous biting of mad dogges: one while they made vse of the Antidote by which *Augustus* expelled the poyson of *Iunius Nouatus*, and *Cassius Patauinus*: anone after of that by which he preserued himselfe from the fury of certaine persons, of whom he came to haue notice by the meanes of young (p) *Tiberius*. Pride and arrogancie they neuer touched or tasted of, but esteemed it as a (q) *Nettle in a Nosegay*, which deprived the rest of the flowers of their proper worth and vertue.

Si tibi copia, si sapientia formaq́; detur;
Sola superbia destruit omnia si comitetur.

If wealth and wit and beautie shall,
Vnto thy lot bechaunce befall:
If pride within thee harboured bee:
No worth will these adde vnto thee.

Petulancie and peeuishnes they looke not after, but left it for children and old folkes that were come vnto their dotage, to feede vpon: and as for (52) *Auarice*, every one detested it, as *Seuerus* did an vniust Iudge, and wrot bitter inuectiues against it; one called it *stercus*, another *lupus*, another *dæmon*: one shewed how *Platoes* Common-

mon-wealth flouriſhed, becauſe this was a ſtranger there; another how the Common-wealth of *Sparta* periſhed, becauſe this was a familiar there: In *Platoes* Common-wealth (ſaid one) no man wanted, becauſe no man abounded; every man had enough, becauſe no man had more than enough: In the Common-wealth of *Sparta*, many men wanted, becauſe many men abounded; many men had not enough, becauſe many men had more than enough. Which diſproportion of eſtates occaſioned a kinde of corruption in the manners and conditions of the people; it made the rich *grow proud*, high-minded, and to giue themſelues to oppreſſion, and vnto a licentious courſe of life: it made the poore to repine, to murmure, and to * *mutinie*, vntill it brought that (r) *flouriſhing Common-wealth* vpon her knees: which the *Romanes* fearing, made a Law, which was called *Lex Agraria*, whereby inequalitie of poſſeſſions was Cryed downe. Such were the feaſts that theſe wiſe men made, that gaue ſuch contentment to their gueſts, that every one was well ſatisfied; yet every one roſe with an appetite. Thus did theſe men ſpend and end their dayes, dying neither too rich nor too poore, having enough to carry them through the world to their graues, without being burdenſome or troubleſome to any. It was a deuout and good (t) *prayer*, and well beſeeming the wiſeſt of Kings; *Giue me not too much, leaſt I grow proud and ſo forget thee, nor too little, leaſt I grow too much dejected, and ſo forget my ſelfe: a little to the wiſe is better than great poſſeſſions to the fooliſh: a Cottage well gotten, is better than a Palace gotten by wrong and robberie.* Which made olde (*) *Samuel* arraigne himſelfe and make Proclamation, that *if he had taken any mans Oxe or Aſſe from him, or if he had wronged or oppreſſed any man, or if he had taken a gift, vnlawfully againſt any man, he was there readie to reſtore it. The dayes of man are few and euill*, and that which in the end of thoſe few dayes ſhall giue moſt contentment to a

Booke entituled the Romant of the Roſe.

Auarice held in her hand,
A purſe that hung by a band;
And that ſhe bid and bound ſo ſtrong,
Men muſt abide wonder long.
Out of this purſe ere there came aught,
For that vertre commeth in her thought;
It was not certaine her intent,
That fro that purſe ay any went.

* *Inequalitie cauſeth tumults and inſurrections.* Plut. in Solone.

(r) Apollo Pythius Oraculo edidit, Spartam nullâ aliâ re niſi auaritiâ perituram. *Cicero lib. 2. Offic.*

(t) *Prov* 30. *verſ.* 8. & 9. Magni animi eſt, mediocria malle quàm nimia. *Senec. epiſt.* 89. Melius eſt modicum juſto, ſuper diuitias peccatorum multas. *Pſal.* 37. *v.* 16. Non ſperno nummos, ſi ſit poſſeſſio juſta; Et nolo iniuſtos; vitio nam ſequitur.

(*) 1 *Sam.* 12. *verſ.* 3.

man, shall be this; that no man can justly say, that he hath taken ought vniustly from him. It was a glory to *Cyrus*, that he was accounted *pater patriæ*, and he carried it to his graue with him; but it was an ignominy to *Darius*, that he was accounted a *Negotiator*, and he left it behinde him: *Wee brought* (t) *nothing into the world, neither shall we carrie any thing out.* Why then should we so greedily *Couet our neighbours house, our neighbours wife, our neighbours Oxe, his Asse, or any thing that is his?*

Rustic: You haue sufficiently shewed me what Couetousnes is, and the fruits & effects of it; I pray you now shew me what Lawes haue been made out of this sacred Law, to restraine the vnbridled affections of Covetous persons.

Iurid: You shall vnderstand, that from hence are derived all those Lawes called (u) *the Cyncian, the Iulian,* and *Calphurnian Lawes.* By the first, Orators were restrained for taking of rewards for pleading; by the second, suing after dignities was prohibited; by the third, bribery and extortion in Magistrates was condemned and punished. Againe, you shall vnderstand, that all those Lawes which are called *Leges Cibariæ*, or *sumptuariæ*, which doe take away excessiue dyet and superfluities, and all those Lawes which are called *leges Agrariæ*, which punish the Depopulator and Encloser, are hence derived. Againe, all those Lawes which punish Incests, adulteries, and fornications, and all those Lawes which punish thefts, greater or lesser, publicke or private, and which are comprehended vnder these Titles, *de Adulteriis, Abigeis, finium regendorum, Larcenie, petit Larcenie*, and the like: generally all Lawes, by which any exorbitancie or intemperancie in any kinde is condemned, are hence propagated and derived.

Rustic: I pray you Sir, satisfie me in one thing before you goe any further: I haue often heard, a man may be as intemperate in his studies as in his meales. Is this kinde

(t) Incedebant nudi *Adam & Eva* in Paradisum: nos quóq; nascimur nudi, & nudi hinc migrabimus. Cùm igitur ingressus & egressus noster sit nudus, discamus in vitæ huius progressu ita contentos esse nostrâ sorte, vt affectibus ab auaritia nudis, in hoc mundo versemur; & si quid nobis auferetur, dicamus cum *Iobo*, nudus egressus sum de vtero matris meæ, & nudus reuertar, Dominus dedit & Dominus abstulit; ac sicut illi non erubescunt suam nuditatem; sic nos non pudet nostræ paupertatis in qua vult nos Deus viuere.

Zanchius lib. 4. de hominis creatione.

Est quæstus maximus pietas cum sufficientia; nihil intulimus in hunc mundum; haud dubiũ, nec auferre quid possimus, habentes alimenta, & quibus tegamur his contenti simus. 1 *Timoth 6.*

Nudus vt in terram veni, sic nudus abibo;
Quid frustrà fundo, funera nostra videns?

Morus.

(u). Tacit. lib. 11.

kinde of intemperance within the Compaſſe of theſe Lawes?

Iurid: Yes certainely; *vbicunq; plùs vult quiſq;, quàm ſat eſt*; in what caſe ſoever a man deſires more than (w) *enough*, he incurres the danger of thoſe Lawes; and for your further ſatisfaction, I would haue you looke into (53) *Tacitus*, and there you ſhall ſee how *Agricola* reſtrained his affections, ſet a-fire after learning: and why? marry becauſe (as he ſaith) the moſt part of vs at this day are as intemperate in our ſtudies, as in all other things; and learne not how to liue, but how to diſpute. So that (54) *Lipſius* confidently affirmeth, that the rude multitude that know no more than what is needfull for them to know, are more wiſe than many of our talking men, that haue a ſwimming knowledge in the braine, and can vtter good things, but never make vſe of it to reforme their lives, or amend their manners. It was a Rule amongſt the Auncients, and it was a good one.

(w) Plus ſcire velle quàm ſat eſt, intemperantiæ genus eſt; *Senec.* & *Æſchylus*; qui fructuoſa, non qui multa ſcit, ſapit.

(53) *Tacitus in Agricolæ circ. principium.*

(54) *Lipſ: lib. 1. polit.*

(55) *Diſce mandato munere fungi.*
Et fuge ſeu peſtem τὸν πολυπραγμοσύνην.

(55) Non fis fax aut tuba litis,
Sed pacificus & mitis:
Spartam nactus, ipſam orna;
Nec factiones vnquã torna.
(x) Qui binos lepores horã ſectatur eãdem;
Vno quandóq;, quandóq; carebit vtróq;.
(*) Mirandum eſt, quantùm vbiq; ſinguli huius artis ſe peritiſſimos eſſe putent, quotidiè vmbras hominũ, fæcem plebis, cerdones, fabros, agricolas et alios imperitos audimus dicentes; O ſi Senatorego eſſem, ita juberem, ita conſulerem: quibus Phormionibus meritò ſtomachatur Socrates; Si quis (inquit) non faber de domo, aut gubernator de mari conſultaret, exploderetur è populo. Navita de ventis, de tauris narretarator:
Enumeret miles vulnera——
Quam quiſq; norit artem in ea ſe exerceat.

Let not the husbandman enterfare with the Citizen, nor the Citizen with the husbandman: let not the Lawyer meddle with the Divine, nor the Divine with the Lawyer. It is not for *Glauco vmbra & raſa Tabula*, white paper, vpon whom a man might write any thing, to talke what he would doe if he were (x) *King* or *Conſull*. The acting of that part alone belongs to Soveraignty and ſupreame power.

Tu regere imperio, populos (Romane) memento.

It is *Cæſars* part to rule and governe: it is *Glauco's* part to ſerve and obey.

Rustic: O but Sir, if the husbandman shall in stead of Wheate vtter chaffe and tares, will you not allow the Citizen to tell him of it? if the Citizen shall sell & send forth base Commodities in stead of good and marchantable, will you not allow the Countryman to doe the like to him? if the Lawyer, whose house (as *Crassus* saith in the Orator) is as the Oracle in the Citie, shall set a man out of his way, will you not allow the Divine to tell him of it? and if the Divine shall publish false doctrine, will you not allow the Lawyer to doe the like to him?

Iurid: By no meanes; for in every well governed Common-wealth, there is speciall care taken to haue superintendents, to whom the redressing of abuses in every faculty are committed. If a Divine offends, it belongs not to thee being (*) *a lay-man* to redresse it, but to the Bishop, goe to him and acquaint him with it, and if he will not doe it, let the blame light vpon him; thou hast done thy dutie. If the Lawyer offend in his facultie, it belongs not to thee being a Divine to redresse it, goe to the Iudges and acquaint them with it, and if they will not doe it, let the blame light vpon them. If the Citizen offend, it belongs not vnto thee being a Countryman to reforme it, goe to the Magistrate and acquaint him with it, and if he will not doe it, let the blame light vpon him. If the Countryman offend, it is not for thee being a Citizen to redresse it, goe to the Iustices and acquaint them with it, and if they will not doe it, let the blame light vpon them, it is a dutie belongs vnto them; and thou must not Covet that which is theirs.

Rustic: O but Sir, if a Divine shall publish in writing any thing repugnant to the doctrine of the Church wherein he liveth, I hope you will not thinke it vnfit for any man of the same Church to write against it and confute it.

Iurid: Nothing more vnfit; vnlesse he doe it by speciall

(*) *The* Polypragmon *or busie-body needeth not to goe any further than to the members of his owne bodie, to learne to confine himselfe to his proper office: the foot seeketh not to smell, the nose to walke, the tongue to combate, nor the hand to talke, but without troubling of their Common-weale with mutinie, they voluntarily deale each in his office.* Bartas

——non cursum nares,
non prælia Martis
Affectat cerebrum; magnis
non dextra vigere
Consilijs, crúmve leves venatur odores;
Non intestinâ respublica seditione
Carpitur, at studijs, et certo fœdere quæq;
Sponte suâ data pensa trahunt, &c.

ciall Command from higher powers, for in ſo doing thou giueſt occaſion whoſoever thou art, to the Adverſaries of the Church whereof thou art a member, to triumph and ſay, it is no marvaile they agree not with vs, ſeeing they agree not amongſt themſelues. Againe, amongſt wiſe men thou ſhalt be accounted a foole for thy paines, though perhaps among the ignorant multitude thou maiſt winne a little fame and renowne; *Nam ſapientes ambigunt vter ſtultior, iſne qui ſtultè dicit, an qui ſtultè dicentem ſeriò refutare contendit*, the Doctors doubt whether is the more very foole, he that writes fooliſhly, or that ſeriouſly anſwers a fooliſh writing? Leaue then the reformation of matters of the Church to the head of the Church, to whom it appertaines, as *his* (56) *name* will tell thee. And doe thou if any idle Pamphlets haue beene publiſht vſe thy beſt meanes to ſuppreſſe them; which is the beſt anſwere thou canſt giue vnto them; and doe not thou reprint them by anſwering of them; So ſhalt not thou incurre the danger of the Lawes made againſt intemperance or exorbitancie in ſtudies.

(56) Ἐπίσκοπος eſt inſpector & curator; vnde, vt *Suidas* ait, qui ab *Athenienſibus* in ſubjectas Ciuitates ad inſpiciendum ea quæ à ſingulis mitterentur, Epiſcopi & cuſtodes vocabantur.

Ruſtic: You haue given me good ſatisfaction; and to Conclude all, let me deſire you before wee part, to tell me your opinion, in which of thoſe foure wayes you haue propoſed, you would haue a young man that is now to take his journey into the world to walke and paſſe through.

Iurid: I might anſwere you as *Ptolemie* anſwered the Ambaſſadors touching their Lawes; There being met in *Ptolemies* Court at a ſupper, where he himſelfe was in perſon, ſeaven Ambaſſadors; one from *Rome*, another from *Carthage*, a third from *Sicilie*, a fourth from *Rhodes*, a fifth from *Athens*, a ſixth from *Lacedemonie*, a ſeaventh from *Sicion. Ptolemie* mooved this queſtion vnto them: *Quænam iſtarum prouinciarum reſpublicæ melioribus legibus regerentur*, which of their Provinces were governed by the beſt Lawes? Which queſtion after it had beene wittily

*A Citie of Peloponeſus neere vnto Corinth.

wittily for a time debated, every one ſtanding for the Lawes of his owne Country. *Ptolemie* to determine the Controverſie, deſired them *vt quilibet tres leges quas in ſua quiſq; repub: ſciret obſervari omnium optimas, proferret, eáq; ratione futurum putabat, vt, quænam illarum melius regeretur, facilè perſpiceretur*, that every one would propoſe three of their beſt Lawes, by which he made no doubt but he ſhould be able to judge which of the Countries had the beſt Lawes. Whereupon the *Romane*-Ambaſſador began thus; *Romæ templa honorari, magiſtratibus obedientiam præſtari, malos Caſtigari*; at *Rome* God is glorified, Magiſtrates are obeyed, wicked men are puniſhed. After him the *Carthaginian* Ambaſſ: began thus; *Carthagine nobiles viros ſemper cum ſuis hoſtibus decertare, populum laborare, Philoſophos rudiores informare*; at *Carthage* the Noble men alwayes wage warre in perſon with their enemies, all men are in action, and thoſe that are skilfull inſtruct thoſe that are ignorant. After him the *Sicilian* Ambaſſ: thus; *Siciliæ juſtitia adminiſtratur, veritas amatur, æqualitas laudatur*; in *Sicilie* juſtice is duely adminiſtred, truth is beloved, and æqualitie preferred. After him the Ambaſſador from *Rhodes*, thus; *Rhodi honeſtos eſſe viros ſenes, pudicos juvenes, tranquillas et illabefactas matronas*; at *Rhodes* old men are honeſt, young men are ſhamefaſt, matrones are ſober and without ſpot and blemiſh. After him the *Athenian* Ambaſſ: thus; *Athenis non permittuntur divites factioſi, populus otioſus, gubernatores imperiti*; in *Athens* it was not permitted that rich men ſhould be factious, poore men idle, and Governors ignorant. After him the *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſ: thus; *Lacedæmone nec invidiam, quia omnes ibi erant æquales, nec avaritiam, quia omnia erant communia, nec deſidiam, quia omnes laborabant regnari permitti*; In *Lacædemonie* envie hath no place, becauſe all men are equall, Covetouſneſſe is thruſt out of dores, becauſe all things are in common; idleneſſe is baniſht, becauſe all men are made

to

to worke. After him the *Sicion* Ambaſſ: thus; *Sycione nullos extraneos, qui res novas excogitarent, nullos medicos, qui benè valentes enecarent, nullos advocatos, qui lites in infinitum protraherent, admitti*; at *Sycion* no new Lords are admitted to make new Lawes; no Phyſitians to kill men being in perfect health; no Advocates to ſpinne out and protract cauſes to the end of the world. All which when *Ptolemie* heard, and ſeriouſly pondered them in his thoughts, he affirmed they were all ſo good that he knew not, *Quænam illarũ ſit lex præſtantiſſima*. What *Ptolemie* ſaid of the Lawes of thoſe Countries, I may well ſay of the wayes we haue paſt through. They are all ſo good, I know not wch is beſt: let the young man take his choyce, as his phantaſie leades him, he cannot chooſe amiſſe. A more ſatisfactory Anſwere at this time I cannot giue you; for you know it is a hard thing for an Artificer to fit a man with a habite whom he never ſaw, and knowes not whether he be high or low, little or great; and it would be deemed an inconſiderate part in me to take vpon me to (57) *direct* another what wayes he ſhould walke, when as by the Lawes of *Licurgus*, *Nemo ſequi debet id quod alterius judicio ſequi juſſus eſt, ſed id tantummodò ad quod à natura propenſũ ſe videt maximè*. Yet I will tell you what I would doe in the like caſe. If I thought the young man you ſpeake of would proue a Cholericke *Capito*, I would adviſe him to walke the private Country way inviſible as neare as he could; if a patient wiſe man, then to take his journey through the Cities; if a devout religious man, then through the Temple; if an honeſt juſt man, then through the Courts of Iuſtice. And withall, I would adviſe him to beare in minde theſe Cautions: if he did purſue the Country-rode, then to take heede that he did not waſte too much time in the vaine delights thereof, and ſo the night ſteale vpon him, and penury ſeize vpon him, and ſtrip him out of his rich robes of plentie, into her owne rags of ignominie.

(57) Velle ſuum cuíq; eſt; huc valdè pertinet reſponſũ cuiuſdam erronis, qui miſerè in foro flagellis cæſus, cuidam adhortanti, vt eò magis feſtinaret quò citiùs tantis cruciatibus liberaretur, tale dedit reſponſum; tu cùm itidem per plateas virgis cædaris, vade vt voles, ego nũc, vt mihi videbitur, ibo. *Caſtel. lib.* 2°.

minie. If he had a minde to take the Cities in his way, then to take heede that he did not trifle out the time too long in dallying and feasting with *Bacchus* and *Venus*, and their associates, and so the night overtake him and he be compelled to take vp his lodging in *Ludgate* or *Newgate*. If he had a minde to take his voyage through the Temple, then to beware that Simonie and (58) *Covetousnesse, pride and luxurie*, envie and malice, did not hinder him, and so the night overtake him, and he be compelled to take vp his lodging with (59) *Simon Magus*, and his fraternity. If he had a minde to take his voyage through the Courts of Iustice, then to take heed that he be not hindred with falshood and double-dealing, with lying and false informing, with bribery and corruption, and so the night overtake him and Iustice seize vpon him, and make him a scandall to all posteritie. To conclude, I would advise him which way so ever he went, to pay for what he called for, to owe nothing to any man but loue, and to carry a good tongue in his head, which if he did obserue, I would pawne my Credit, that he might walke any way vntill he were weary, without disturbance and molestation. And thus the Conference ended. And thus am I come to a period of my Discourse. Wherein I haue endevoured to shew that Lawes are not, as they haue beene fondly and ignorantly conceived, the streines and quirks of mens wits, or the meere invention of man; but as (y) *Demosthenes* long agoe obserued ἐυρημα καὶ δῶρον θεῶν, the invention and gift of God himselfe, and given to that end and purpose, as Kings and Princes were set vp in the beginning, when the great and mightie began to oppresse the poore and needie: God set vp a man whom the *Gracians* haue well set forth in their (z) Βασιλεῦς, to whom they might flee for succour and reliefe. Now admit those sacred mysteries are administred in earthen Vessells by polluted hands. Admit that *Catoes* Officers doe pill and

pole

(58) Hereditarius ille morbus, qui ab initio mundi ecclesias afflixit, & pestundedit, est ambitio mixta avaritiâ; vt ait Iac. nuper Rex in lib. 2 ad *Henric.* nuper principem.

(59) Simon propter excellentiam quia in arte magica valebat, *Magus* appellatus; qui cum vidisset signa & miracula ab Apostolis facta fuisse, per impositionem manuũ, adductus desiderio huiusmodi gratiam assequendi, pecuniam afferebat *Petro*, cui *Petrus* respondebat, pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionẽ, quia existimâsti donum spiritus pecuniâ acquiri.

(y) Vniuersa vita mortalium naturâ & legibus gubernatur; & id est lex, cui necessarium est omnibus parere; & cum multis alijs de causis, tũ præsertim, quòd omnis lex est inventum et munus Deorum (vt inquit *Demosthenes*) in oratione contra *Aristogitonem*.

(z) Βασιλεῦς *quasi* Βάσις τοῦ λαοῦ (i.e.) *fulcrũ populi*. Cùm premeretur inops multitudo ab ijs qui maiores opes habebant, ad vnum aliquem confugiebant, virtute præstantem; qui cùm proliberet iniuria tenuiores æquitate constituenda, sumos cum infamis pari iure detinebat, eadémq; constituendarum legum causa, quàm regum.

Cicero lib. 2. Offic.

polle the people, taking for their *Syngrapha* and *Opisto-grapha*, more then is due or belongs vnto them: ſhall the ſprings of a pure fountaine looſe any of their proper worth and vertue, becauſe they run through ſome vn-hallowed putrified Channels or Concavities, or ſhall *Cato* be condemned? No, the Lawes are ſprings of a pure fountaine, derivatiues out of the primitive Law of God, which cannot be polluted with vnwaſhen hands; we ought therefore to haue a reverend opinion of them; and be more (*)*Converſant* with them, becauſe they are ſprings proceeding from ſuch a fountaine.

(*) Rex et lex differunt vnâ ſolâ litterâ. Si in *Plut. Lycurgi* et aliorum illuſtrium jura legendo, in quibus parùm fructus ineſſe ſolet, multùm temporis conſumere ſolemus; ne ſit itáq; indignum et ignobile, etiam nobilibus in legibus proprijs municipalibus, ſine quibus benè eſſe, imò eſſe quid, nequeant, paululùm temporis conſumere.

EPILOGVS.

Lipsius lib. 5. cap. 1. polit.

LIPSIVS *having written foure Bookes of Civill government, and intending to write something of militarie discipline, knowing how prone the multitude would be to Censure and condemne him, that* Vmbrosus *one that had alwayes lived in his house, and mued himselfe vp in his study amongst his Bookes out of the troubles and turmoyles of the world, should presume to write of Armes and Military Discipline, desires them to take it into their consideration, how* Alexander, *great* Alexander (*for so he was indeede in* re militari vere magnus) *did esteeme of* Homer, *a Poet, and but a Poet, that writ of warres and nothing els, and to doe him that honor that if they found him to haue received what he had written from the mouthes of men of Credit and reputation, not to be too rash and forward in their censures of him; if otherwise then to value him and that which he had written* vt quisquiliæ volantes, & venti spolia, *as dust and chaffe which the winde driues to and fro.* Erasmus *likewise after that he had written his* ἐγκώμιον μωρίας, *knowing the dispositiõ of the giddie* (60) vnstable multitude, *to be prone to ranke him amongst mad-men and fooles, for that he had written in the prayse of* folly, *desires them whom the lightnesse of the subiect should any way offend, to take it into their consideration, that he was not the first that had written of toyes and trifles; for that* Homer *the most auncient and* (61) learnedst *of Poets, had writ of the Combate betweene the Frog and the Mouse.* Glauco *in prayse of* Injustice. *The grave Bishop* Synesius *in prayse of* baldnes. *The holy Father St.* Hierome *had something de* Corocotta, *of a sowe making her will.* Apuleius *of an Asse.* Plutarch *of the shadow of an Asse. And* Luscinius *hath a tale of a foole, who by his fooling did his Master*

(*) Nullum freetum, nullus Euripus tot motus, tantas, tam varias habet agitationes fluctuum, quantas perturbationes habet ratio Comitiorum. *Cicero.*

(60) Homerus propter mirabilem rerum multarũ cognitionem appellatus fuit à multis, imprimis à *Dionysio* θαυμασιφίλαλος.

Maſter more good than all the Phyſicians *could doe with their skill and cunning: and this it was; there was a great rich man that lived in* Vtopia, *who was much troubled with the winde Cholicke, and his daily prayer was,* pro Crepitu ventris, *to haue the winde to be looſed out of his belly; but finding no eaſe for a long time, and deſpayring of health, he changed his dittie, and prayed* pro regno Cæleſti, *that God would giue him the Kingdome of Heaven. Which his foole hearing, burſt out into a great laughter; and when the ſtanders by reproued him for it, and demanded of him why he was ſo merry, his Maſter being ſo ſicke, anſwered, to thinke that his Maſter ſhould be ſo very a foole, as to thinke that God would giue him a Kingdome, that denied him ſo ſmall a matter as a fart. Which when his Maſter heard to proceed from his foole, fell into ſuch a laughter, that ſhooke his entralls, that he vented forth a little winde; in ſo much, that the* Phyſitian *gaue out, that the venting of that winde was worth a*(62) 100. pound; *which the foole hearing, he like* Boreas *blew at his poſterne* cum ingenti ſonitu, *and to vſe* Chawcers *words, let flew a fart, as great as if it had beene a thunder dent, and demanded of the* Phyſitian *what that was worth, that ſo farre ſurpaſſed* (63) his Maſters; *which the Maſter hearing ſtill to proceed from the foole, fell into a ſecond laughter, and vented ſo much winde, that he became a ſound and perfect man. So that* Morio *cured his Maſter, when as* (*) Medicus *could not. I ſhall neede no other* Apologie *for this my* Quaternio, *or more truely my* Moria. *If any man ſhall rip vp theſe merry gigs which Sir* Thomas More *made in his youth for his recreation; the ſcope whereof is,* ne ſutor vltra Crepidam, *and ſay;*

(62) Hunc flatum cenſum crede valere minas.

(63) Et tantillus (ait) ſi ſit (te judice) tanti;
Num poterit tantus mille valere libras?
In artem medicorum jocus amarulentus.

(*) Quid admiraris opem medicorum,
Si pretioſa magis podice pauper habet?

He that hath left his Hoſiers trade, and falleth to maken ſhun:
The Smith that ſhall to painting fall, his thrift is well nie done.
When a Hatter ſhall goe ſmatter in Philoſophie:
Or a Pedlar waxe a Medler in Theologie:
A man of Law that never ſaw the wayes to buy and ſell;
Weening to riſe by Marchandiſe, I pray God ſpeed him well.

If any man ſhall rip vp thoſe Rhymes, I ſay, and ſay, as I ſuppoſe I heare ſome whiſpering that it is not proper to a profeſſor of the Law to perſonate a Countryman, Citizen, or Divine, or to talke of dogs and hawkes, things out of the liſts and limits of his profeſsion. To him I anſwere, that Eraſmus *ſhewed no leſſe* (64) Art *in writing of his Booke, for which he made this* Apologie, *than he did by ſetting forth the learned Labours of St.* Auſtin, *St.* Hierome, *St.* Cyprian, *and St.* Chryſoſtome. *And Sir* Thomas More *gained no leſſe credit and reputation in writing his* Vtopia, *than he did in putting forth the life of* Pycus de Mirandula; *and the ſtory of King* Richard *the* 3. Nam vt nihil nugacius eſt quam (*) ſeria nugatoriè tractare: ita nihil feſtivius, quam ita tractare nugas, vt nihil minus quàm nugatus, fuiſſe videaris; *as nothing is more deteſtable than to handle a ſerious ſubject careleſly and negligently, ſo nothing is more delectable than to handle a toy and triſle elegantly and wittily. Who cannot goe in a Common rode without a guide, and who cannot write an* Encomium *of the foure Cardinall vertues, when as every Booke will yeeld vnto him a helping hand? But with that honorable Knight to write an* Vtopia, *or with* Eraſmus *to write a* Panegyre of follie, *or with* Syneſius *in prayſe of* baldnes, *or with* Glauco *in prayſe of* injuſtice; *to extract vertue out of a red Herring, or to make a Cat ſpeak,* hic labor, hoc opus eſt. *Who cannot diſcourſe of the nature of Countries, and tell how* Lutetia *is ſituated, and from thence direct the way into* Italy, *and commend* Naples *for noblenes,* Florence *for fairenes,* Bononia *for fatnes,* Ravenna *for oldnes,* Venice *for richnes,* Millaine *for greatnes, and* Genoa *for ſtatelines? But with the three* (65) *beſt and worſt Orators,* Demoſthenes, Cicero, *and* Iſocrates, *to draw the affections of the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries vnto them, as the Adamant doth the iron, that is prayſe-worthy. Who cannot glut himſelfe, having an appetite, that hath meate enough before him? and who cannot giue freely, that wallowes in wealth and abundance? But to extract water out of a Rocke, to ſatisfie himſelfe,*

(64) Omne tulit punctum qui miſcuit vtile dulci,
Lectorem delectando, paritérq; monendo.
Indicat ingenium ſtultitiâ iſta tuum;
Vt de Eraſm: Poëta.

(*) Ludicra dum tracto gravitèr, ſtudeo quoq; ludens;
Dum leviter tracto ſeria, ludo ſtudens.
Owen:

(65) Optimi ad ſcribendū, peſſimi ad loquendum.
Scripſerunt σοφῶς; loquuti ſunt ἀσοφῶς.
Vt loquutus *Auguſtus* de *Tiberio.*

himſelfe, and relieue others, that is prayſe-worthy. Who cannot write in Commendation of the Country life, when as Cato, Columella, Varro, Palladius, *and divers others, haue written at large* de re ruſtica? *And who cannot commend the Lawes to be moſt excellent, when as many before haue written of that ſubiect? But with* Seneca *to reade vnto vs golden leſſons of Moralitie, and to teach vs how to behaue our ſelues in the Citie, and in the Country; and with* Herbachius, *to ſhew whence the Lawes receiue this excellencie, that is prayſe-worthy. If vnto this I haue given thee a helping hand, giue God the prayſe, giue me thy loue and good will.*

¶ *Author ad librum vt alibi Roſſus.*

Vade nec horreſcas quocúnq; vagaris in orbe,
Forte ſuperſtes erîs me moriente liber;
Nec metuas de te quid dixerit iſte, vel ille,
Arbitrij dominus ſtat ſibi quiſq; ſui.

Idem de eodem.

Si fortè tantum commeritus fuero, vt inter multitudinem pauci, aut inter paucos, ſaltem vnus, in Labyrinthæis viæ & vitæ ſuæ anfractibus & mæandris, per hanc meam Quaternionem rectè edoctus atq; inſtructus eſſe ſibi videatur, erit (vt fuit olim Antimacho Poetæ *Plato*) ſolus ille inſtar omnium.

Tho

The names of ſuch Writers, as the Author hath made vſe of in this Booke.

Hesiod.
Alexãd. ab Alexãd.
Senec.
Ovid.
Martial.
Horat.
Aristot.
Cicero.
Virgil.
Caro.
Bartas.
Ferne.
Raſtall.
Stat. vrbis Romæ.
Sir *Edw. Cookes* Reports.
Petrarch.
Chaucer.
Phil. Iud.
Æneas Silv.
Tibullus.
Æsops fab.
Plutarch.
Xenophon.
Tacitus.
Gueverra.
Io. Stow.
St. Bernard.
Origen.
Chryſoſt.
Hierome.
Arcadia.
Diog. Laert.
Lipſius.
Gwillim.
Vegetius.
Frontinus.
Commines.
Plinius.
Per. Bleſenſis.
Guicciardine.
Scotus.
Luſcinius.
Plato.
Natal. Comes.
Spieg.
Sueton.
Morus.
Huttenus.
Textor.
Leighe.
Paul. Iov.
Plautus.
Zinch.
Rhenanus
Segar.
Lonicer.
Diodorus Sic.
Caſtilio.
Paul. Æmilius.
Bellus.
Ioh. Salisb.
Cornel. Agrip.
Apuleius.
Spartianus.
Herodianus.
Ortellius.
Leandry.
Keckerman.
Munſterus.
Amianus Marcell:
Æmilius Probus.
Curtius.
Glover.
Iean de Seres.
Scaliger.
Perinus.
Iuſtinianus.
Auguſtin.
Iuvenal.
Reform. legum eccleſiaſticarum.
Britton.
Bracton.
Barletius.
Ioſephus.
Euſebius.
Ælianus.
Math. Paris.
Platina.
Onuphrius.
William Malmesb.
Ioh. Roſſe.
Mantuanus.
Ceremon: eccleſ. Rom.
Lam: de priſc. Angl. leg.
Dyer.
Braſmus.
Hemingius.
Cambden.
Valerius Max.
Aulus Gellius.
Macrob. Sat.
Fulbecks parallels.
Bernard mirandul. de ſingul. certam.
Bedæ Eccleſ. hiſt.
Stanford.
Herespachius.
Saluſtius.
Terentius.
Briſſonius.
Auſonius.
Homerus.
Epictetus.
Buxdorfius.
Tiraquillus.
Iuſtinian.
Socrates Scholaſt.
Zozimen.
Claudianus.
Ayræus.
Hiſt. tripartit.
Glanvil.
Swinbourne.
Alcoran Mahom.
Lucanus.
H. Huntingdon.
Stat. Scot.
Florus. Stat. Hibern.
Oroſius.
Eutrop.
Lydgate.
Lamprid.
Boſwell.
Walſingham.

Benignum eſt & plenum ingenui pudoris, fateri per quos profeceris; reprehenſione autem dignum, Maiorum tacere nomina, & eorum ſibi appropriare ingenia. Plin.

FINIS.